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PSYCHORAMA

A MENTAL OUTLOOK AND ANALYSIS

BY

A. A. ROBACK



SCI-ART PUBLISHERS
HARVARD SQUARE
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

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Printed by
INDEPENDENT PRESS, BOSTON, MASS.
U. S. A.

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PREFACE

The bulk of this volume consists of syndicated articles which appeared prior to the outbreak of the second world war. Most of the essays have been either revised or somewhat enlarged, but it has been my intention to retain as much as possible the atmosphere of the time which prompted the writing of these *causeries*. In our present belligerent condition, we are apt to forget how tepid many Americans had been in their attitude toward the Nazi ogres. How far back is it that legislators, military experts, and publicists in the United States, even before Hitler's hordes invaded the USSR, were certain that our country could not be attacked? It is partly to recall that state of mind and prevent a condition of political amnesia, which so many pacifists, isolationists, and "look-the-other-ways" will find it convenient to lapse into, that these topics are here given a place.

The seemingly subjective tone will easily be recognized as a reverberation of the particular genre of writing, *viz.*, the column. Let us not be deceived by superficialities in style or technique. The most objectively worded manifestos might be the product of sheer prejudice, while, as in our own case, the *objectivity of the analysis* has been borne out pragmatically by the events that have come to pass. This phase will be gone into at greater length in the introduction.

It will possibly be difficult for reviewers, particularly my psychological colleagues, to pigeonhole this book. The

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title suggests a psychological coloring, but no more. Certainly the laboratory psychologist cannot bring the results of his experiments to bear on the complicated situation at hand. It is my belief that everything which a psychologist dwells on must have a psychological approach, just as anything a technician handles must eventually bring forth technological results. Our natural bent, our training, or our calling will manifest itself in whatever we undertake, no matter how we label it.

Nearly half of the volume, moreover, is devoted to the discussion of psychologists and their views. As a matter of fact, the first impetus to collect these essays in book form came from the suggestion of two recent presidents of the American Psychological Association, who read the lengthy review of Freud's *Moses and Monotheism*. There were other psychologists who were particularly interested in the correspondence with C. G. Jung. Thus, especially as the original articles reached only a narrow circle of readers here and there, the encouragement took root.

If the material offered here is not "scientific" (although it is next to impossible to state with absolute certainty what is and what is not scientific in psychology) — and has not been intended as such — it may serve as raw data for the social and political psychologist. The range of facts encompasses here an area of wide dimensions, true, broken up by highlands and valleys, perhaps here and there by bodies of water; nevertheless the sense is uniform and, I hope, consistent.

The diversity of topics will no doubt irk the ordinary reviewer, who will perhaps find the book a *potpourri*, and will wonder why the light and the serious should be mixed so freely. While anticipating (and accepting) the verdict that the work is uneven, I should like to call the attention of my prospective critics to the fact that the title

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"Psychorama" makes provision for the medley which is contained between these two covers.

What does an intellectual's well-filled day in our hectic world consist of? Is it not made up of political events and reactions thereto, reflections on books and men who wrote them, decisions on issues, grins and groans? Here we have a cross-section of life. The majority of books deal with one layer. It will not be necessary for reviewers to take any of the conclusions *cum grano salis*; for the salt is already provided; yes, and the pepper, too. It may be said, at least, that none of the writing has been done with the tongue in the cheek. If anyone should find a speck of cynicism in these pages, it is merely as a reaction toward a cynical generation, an attempt to expose the unwholesome and stupid elements in high places that have enabled the unholy and infamous to become enthroned. One wonders what Rabelais would have done with his Gargantua and Pantagruel had he lived in a Nazi-ridden world.

The large proportion of space devoted to the Jews needs some explanation. While it may easily be gathered that many of the articles appeared in sectarian journals, there is something else to consider. I have long ago come to the conclusion that the Jews are the barometer of the international situation. Indeed, they may also be regarded as the touchstone of personality. *Scratch a Jew-baiter and find a hoodlum or a psychopath.* I have never seen it to fail. If my readers happen to know of eminent exceptions, I shall only quote the trite Latin proverb; and if I am wrong in my generalization, reviewers will certainly lose no time in pointing out my error, which I should, in all humbleness, acknowledge, provided the correction is properly documented and verified.

The only cause, so far as I can see, for the provocation against Jews is *their existence*. But what difference does it

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make for the world whether they and their progeny exist as Jews or non-Jews? It was not they who precipitated the issue but their enemies, hence the matter must be discussed every time the Jewish "question" crops up. The question, however, is not Jewish; it is decidedly non-Jewish. The *answer* is Jewish; and, in true Jewish fashion, may be put simply "Why not remain a Jew?" Of course, I am not unmindful of the so-called scientific anti-Semites, some of whom ranked high in philosophical circles, *e.g.*, Fichte and Schopenhauer. Fichte, it will be remembered, was a narrow nationalist, who carried within him the germ of Nazi ideology, while Schopenhauer could never forgive the Jews for belying, through their survival, his animistic *Will*. Let me also hasten to suggest that to criticize or find fault with the Jews for this or that trait is not necessarily a symptom of anti-Semitism, which is signalized rather by the nature, the extent, and the manner of the animadversions.

The articles forming the basis of the chapters in this volume have originally appeared in journals too numerous to mention, many of them served by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, whose courtesy is herewith gratefully acknowledged. Among the periodicals to which I am under obligation for permission to reprint several essays are *Science*, *Character and Personality*, *Aufbau*, and the *B'nai B'rith Magazine*.

Dr. M. I. Raphael, formerly instructor at Harvard University, has been helpful in reading the proofs, offering a number of acceptable suggestions, for which he has my thanks. The index has been prepared by Mr. A. J. Arnold.

A. A. ROBACK

Cambridge, Mass.
February 15, 1942

INTRODUCTION

The Meaning of "Psychorama"

The term "psychorama" will, of course, not be found in any dictionary. It is a coined word, but the concept for which it is the vehicle has been with us for many a century. It is only in recent years, however, in the period immediately preceding the cataclysm which, before long, will see the world swept by an Armageddon, such as will beggar human fantasy when compared with the actual reality, that there has been an urgent need for a term to describe the particular mental process or sequence which relates historical events to one another, with a view to forecasting the future in the light of human motives

Does History Repeat Itself?

Let us not go into the hoary and threadbare issue of historical predictability. Of course history repeats itself in a general way, because human beings are similarly constituted, whether they are contemporaries of Pericles, living in Athens, or the subjects of Hitler occupying all of Central Europe. It is, however, preposterous to expect cycles, at regular intervals, of wars, revolutions, financial crises, etc., simply because the circumstances which call them forth depend on a conjuncture of antecedents, which are not likely to re-occur, owing to the laws of probability.

That the second world war should break out exactly twenty-five years after the first, as if an anniversary were

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observed, is of course curious, but only a coincidence. It could have been avoided, first, by a strong international organization like the League of Nations in action, and not merely *in potentia*. It might have been averted, if Hitler had been kept in prison over a period of many years. There certainly would have been no war, had Hitler been bidden to stop militarizing the Rhineland. The world could have lived in comparative peace if the Munich betrayal had not been perpetrated.

The question is: Why did the statesmen of the democratic and semi-democratic countries, those who were schooled in international politics, not foresee the baleful results of their self-complacent and yielding attitude? The answer is: they did not have before them a *psychorama* but a "politorama". Their field of vision was on a different plane, and, too, perhaps covered only a narrow segment.

Let us take a single instance. When the late Neville Chamberlain flew, with his umbrella, to Berchtesgaden and, after coming to an agreement with Hitler on Czechoslovakia, brought back to England what he was pleased to call "peace with honor", there were many of us who thought that the "prize" he was fetching was "dishonor without peace". Was it merely guesswork on our part? Was it sheer cynicism on the part of others?

I naturally cannot speak for all. I can merely say that while Chamberlain envisaged a calmed world, because he reflected that Hitler, particularly after receiving such homage from the Prime Minister of England, would never bring himself to so humiliate him, the student of human nature, poised in a more objective position, would not consider the relationship as one between Hitler and Chamberlain, but as one between Hitler and Hitler — Hitler's *idée fixe* and Hitler's inhibitions.

Now it takes very little intuition to perceive that Hit-

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ler's inhibitions are almost nil, and that his dream of world conquest would only be more vivified by Chamberlain's concession. In a word, while Chamberlain, in his egocentricity, would be persuading himself that Hitler "would not do that to me," the impartial observer who was abreast of the times and was familiar with the "nature of the brute" could very well have foretold that Hitler's character was such that the subjugation of all Czechoslovakia must be the only result under the circumstances.

Character; Human and Inhuman

This is not a case of *ex post facto* reasoning. In a number of instances, I was able to make forecasts of Nazi doings before the newspapers reported the events. At times, the editor of the syndicate would, on releasing the articles, preface a note to the effect that the typescript was received before such and such action became known.

The peculiar thing about it is that a shrewd politician may not sense what is coming while a cloister philosopher may see the light. No, it is not Divine inspiration, nor clairvoyance, nor a hunch, nor intuition, nor extra-sensory perception, nor any other mystic power. It is just *a psychological outlook* that enables one to foretell the inevitable, by examining the inherent *élan* in human, and in many instances inhuman, nature.

Did it take much insight to understand that the Nazis would use Hershl Grynszpan's insensate act as a grand pretext for running amuck in their several Jewries and extorting an astronomical figure from their Jewish hostages? Does it take much brilliance to infer, prior to the event, that Hitler and Goebbels would proclaim, until they are hoarse, that the war, which they, in their iniquity, have precipitated, was engineered by the Jews?

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Perhaps it was a little more difficult to interpret the "merciful" promise to assist all Jews prepared to depart from Germany and Austria. All that was needed, however, was to recall one of the fables. Why, the story of Little Red Riding-Hood immediately comes to mind, and the final phrase "the better to eat you with, my dear" must surely have occurred to more than a few of the readers when they read of the Nazi wolves' benevolence. When, therefore, I suggested in my weekly contribution to the press that a kidnapping was in store, and that the Jews in other countries would be expected to contribute huge sums of money for the safeconduct of the Reich Jews, I was merely drawing my conclusions from my own field of knowledge — character, unhampered by mechanistic or behavioristic considerations.

Looking, Seeing, Perceiving, and Reflecting

The great philologist and psychologist, Hayim Steintal, once gave us an apt illustration of perception, in that he visualized three men, separately, coming on the scene and looking at a tree. One saw the bark, another the branches, a third the trunk only. Each of them had a different vocation, different interests, and different ambitions in life. It has become a truism now, but we select only those parts which we want to see. Most look but do not see. Many perceive; few *apperceive*, that is to say, add something from within, from their own experience to supplement the bare sense-qualities. Still fewer *reflect* on what they have seen; and a very, very small minority "*see it through*".

There was a time when scores of articles and books were written from a "visual" angle. The physician was "looking at" medicine or literature. The minister was "looking at"

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religion. The lawyer was "looking at" judges, and the judges were "looking at" lawyers or prisoners. The game was very popular about ten years ago.

In abnormal psychology, there is a term — *scopophilia* (or "scotophila") which is the activity of Tom-the-peeper. Environmentalists may tell us that it all began with the peep-show which, as youngsters, intrigued us so much; but if we do not get beyond the looking stage we are destined to remain the adolescent our life long.

Psychorama is the world seen in a psychological light, at any given period. It must be at the actual time, since otherwise, it is not seen but reconstructed, inferred, or recalled. For this reason, *psychorama* is not the same as *Weltanschauung*, which is both more and less than our concept. It is more subjective and smacks of an "ism". A psychorama must of necessity be objective, but it may draw on the individual's particular world outlook or *Weltanschauung*.

The psychorama emphasizes breadth rather than depth. It is more concrete, but, as we shall presently observe, the interrelation of the parts is so rigid that each must articulate with the other. Otherwise, the view is not integrated. It will soon follow that the psychorama must present itself in a frame of values. To Chamberlain and other appeasers, the psychorama is merely a "politorama".

Blind Spot of Statesmen

What is the instrument by which the psychorama may be seen? And is it a modern device refined by the technique of present-day civilization? Strikingly enough, this piece of apparatus, the "psychoscope", if you will, is in us, and has been functioning thousands of years ago in the Prophets of Israel, in Confucius, Buddha, and other men of vision, in various lands and at various periods. Why then did most

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of our modern statesmen, even Metternich and Bismarck, not possess this *organon* of insight, which would have saved so much bloodshed and spared so much wretchedness and grief? The answer is simple enough: they were looking on a different plane. Their gaze was blurred by their emotions. They were guided by illusions of self-aggrandizement and world conquest; they were actuated by a pseudo-patriotism, glorified by their countrymen. The result was a dazzling mirage, on the one hand, and spots of obscurity, caused by psychic blindness, on the other.

Policy and Principle

The Prophets, had they lived in our world, would have been constrained to reckon with a million circumstances, which were non-existent in their time, but their apparatus would have been the same as that of, say, Rathenau or von Ossietzky. They would have made use of experience accumulated through centuries, but their perfervid utterances would have been substantially the same, grounded in reason and set into motion by *principle*.

Principle — that is the foundation lacking in all the policies of statesmen who have built up empires on the ruins of other states. For this reason alone, it would be impossible for the “politorama” to coincide with the *psychorama*. These divergent world-pictures differ as widely as policy differs from principle; and this disparity — really gulf — will serve to explain why all the treaties, pacts, conversations, concordats, agreements, covenants, and all the rest of these magniloquent names for bargains, are worthless unless they are backed up, in the first instance, by goodwill, on both sides of the transaction.

It is here that the significance of the values obtrudes itself. High-placed diplomats are of two types. Either they

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are intent upon making their state powerful at the expense of others, or else they have only their own interests at heart, regardless of whether or not their country is to suffer in the immediate future. In the first category are men like Bismarck, Cavour, perhaps even Disraeli, who acquired India for the British Empire but was more farsighted than any of his colleagues. In the second class, we can lump a number of unscrupulous politicians who have attained power in various countries. The present French "collaborators" with Nazi Germany are apt illustrations.

The genuinely patriotic, but often misguided, statesmen are worshipped by their countrymen. Monuments are set up in their honor; streets, boulevards, and even cities are named for them. What, however, appears strange is that even the adventurer-statesman, the tawdry politician, often makes a comeback, after the country becomes settled.

In reality, the empire-building patriot should be treated like an exploiter who might be overdevoted to the members of his family, providing them with all sorts of luxuries, at the expense of those women and children who are denied the necessities of life. The politician-statesman should be denounced as a racketeer and traitor. That this is not the case needs no certification. The question is why virtue is not recognized and why vice is condoned.

Even this matter offers no difficulties. The country is geared to glorify those who have obtained advantages for it. Schoolchildren are drilled in this discipline from the primary grade on. The press and all other propaganda agencies are filled with the praise of the men who were successful in their predatory quests; and thus the fortunate aggressor becomes a demi-god, in the eyes of the public, and one to be emulated by the able youth of the nation.

It works like a vicious circle. The majority of people in any country are seeking only their own advantage. The

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men at the helm of government who will make a pretense, at least, of satisfying their desires, both material and egoistic (as in the acquisition of new territory), will win their admiration; and will, in turn, do all in their power to perpetuate their claims in the annals of their national history.

Let us not conclude that all patriots are unworthy of the encomium showered upon them. Men like Washington, Garibaldi, Mazzini, Bolivar, and scores of others who have fought in the cause of liberation, making untold sacrifices, and recoiling from acts of rapaciousness, are more than heroes. Those who stir up their people against the oppression of a major state, e.g., Thomas Masaryk, the first President of Czechoslovakia, and rise to their eminent position after a long battle in the course of which they received more than one scar, are to be held in the highest esteem not only by their own compatriots but by the world at large. Similarly, if a country has purchased land from another or has made suitable reparation for military bases, there can be no blame attached to the transaction or exploit.

It will now be clear that what enables us to see a psychorama is enlightenment, born of vision and principle. The freer we are from bias and from greed, whether for ourselves or our group, the more prone are we to attain the position of the elect. Franklin Roosevelt stands out as a rare specimen of the statesman whose view of the world was a *psychorama* rather than a *politorama*. Woodrow Wilson similarly had before him a psychorama, as did Lincoln in the previous century.

Long-Range Psychology

It may seem on the surface that a psychorama is, according to our exposition, an ethical affair. Then why dub it "psychorama"? The truth of the matter, however,

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is that in order to live amicably side by side, nations and states must consider each other as neighbors and equals. There are those who instruct us in the strategy of getting along with people by flattering and outwitting them. Diplomats and rulers have employed both smooth words and the mailed fist in order to keep peoples in subjection. There *was* psychology in this, to be sure, but not good psychology. It is like applying a potent drug to allay a pain which should have been prevented in the first place. The drug will lose its effectiveness after a brief period; and the condition may only become aggravated. Was not Immanuel Kant, the philosopher *par excellence*, a far greater psychologist in laying down the maxim "Treat every individual as a person"? And how can this be accomplished? Simply by *treating every person as an end and not as a means*.

To be sure, he made this injunction one of the foundations of his ethics, but is it not equally the basis of the psychology of getting along with people? And should this principle not be extended so as to apply to peoples and states, in the sense already outlined?

The imperialist, chauvinist, or isolationist statesman is guided by the policy "What is there in it for us?" An isolationist, it must be borne in mind, is an isolationist only when there is something to risk in fighting for a just cause. Isolationists — I mean, of course, the genuine article, not fifth columnists — will, as a rule, change their tune when there is a good chance of adding territory or gaining concessions from a weaker country. Most of the isolationists would not have clamored against dragging the country into war, if the Mexican oil dispute could have been fanned to a conflict between the United States and its Southern neighbor.

The boy who bullies a younger chum into doing his bidding or wheedles from a playmate something to which

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he is not entitled is, to some extent, a psychologist; at least from the point of view of those who are teaching their fellows how to influence people by strategy. He might be called a psychologist *pro tempore*, for the time being. Unless his victim is unusually stolid or feeble-minded, there is bound to be some reaction in the form of resentment or reprisals. The psychologist proper will strive to bring about equitable relations and establish a lasting state of understanding.

If this is good psychology between individuals, it should apply equally well between states; and it can never be repeated too often that international and internecine *vendettas* will cease when the psychology and ethics adopted as a code, although, alas, not too frequently acted upon, in intercourse among individuals are, at least, recommended in international relations. The totalitarian system of conduct, in keeping with which no crime, no matter how heinous, is blameworthy if perpetrated on behalf of the state or its head, is, after all, the logical climax of the ordinary statesman's, hence patriot's, point of view.

It is due to this merging of the individual with the state in totalitarian countries that democracies have never been nearly so successful in their organization as the Fascist states. Democracies must wage a life-and-death battle with the Fascist states and must, at the same time, fight their foes within, who, schooled in stratagem and mischief, know enough to show their democratic mask.

Unfortunately, too, the Fascists of all hues in their midst are equal to their task, and often dupe their friends in high places. Still worse, democracy makes allowance for carelessness, blunders, and even sabotage. Why, the penalty for espionage is, in view of the grave consequences that have already resulted from the acts, ridiculously mild, as if the judges were loath to mete out punishment that might break down the health of those traitorous beasts whose devilish

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messages to the enemy cost the lives of many good men and women.

Alloys in Democracy

It is no secret that recent British bungling and muddling (*through*, we hope) is to be attributed to the alloy which British democracy contains. In Nazi Germany, it would not be possible to keep a former opponent to the cause in office. In Soviet Russia, too, a man's record must be 100% suspicion-proof before an important task is intrusted to him. In England and, I fear too, in the United States, men who have, until the actual outbreak of the war, in either country, identified themselves with the appeasers, isolationists, Hitler's "new order" policy, or at least have straddled the fence, have been put into responsible positions. Can we expect these "proselytes" to have their heart in their work? Can we be certain that they have been cured of their Fascist propensities?

Specific Results

When a notorious Nazi agent writes speeches for United States senators, when a prominent congressman's secretary makes use of the legislator's franking privilege in order to distribute anti-democratic and, of course, anti-Semitic propaganda to millions of Americans, when the same congressman, at the hearing, wants it known that he was acquainted with the chief Nazi propagandist just as he was acquainted with President Roosevelt, we may well wonder whether the handicap of our democracy is not more serious than the shortage of equipment; for the former actually underlies the latter.

Recently it has been brought out in a New York newspaper that the notorious Mr. Deatherage, who was to stage

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a rebellion against the Washington administration and put General Van Horn Moseley into the White House, was chief engineer of a firm which had received a 25-million-dollar naval contract, and that he is now active on new projects of organization.

It is true that Secretary Knox, acting upon the outcry, quickly saw to it that Deatherage received his *congé* in spite of his protests and protection, but the fact that such incongruities are possible is not only amazing but appalling. Why not marshal the various Bund leaders, including Dr. Kuhn, to do something on a large scale for the United States?

Nor is this more staggering than the news of a "Christian Mobilizer", *i. e.*, a militant pro-Nazi, being assigned to the task of watching the New York harbor!

As if to compensate for, and camouflage, the pampering of fascists and pro-Nazis, there is a witch-hunt in progress on non-citizens. One might think that every one who did not become a citizen of the United States, after years of residence here, is a spy or saboteur. The reverse is true. Nearly all pro-Nazis in the United States have provided themselves with the most effective strategic weapon — in good time. Why agents should hound French-Canadian girls working on minor defense projects instead of investigating the *Nazi leanings of native engineers working in munition plants* is difficult to understand. If it is not camouflage, then it must be taking the lines of least resistance.

One might expect a different outlook in educational circles, but here is an illustration of what is in store for us unless true democrats protest vociferously against such folly and perverseness.

An educator, whose naturalization process is about to be completed shortly, and who had rendered loyal service to the state in developing the field to which he had been assigned

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over a period of fifteen years, has suddenly been notified by the supervisor that his last course in the semester would be discontinued because he is not a citizen of the United States but a British national (for another few months).

The fact that, at the last moment, the State Commissioner of Education allowed the course to continue inasmuch as "the naturalization process had gone so far," by no means satisfies the general situation; for it implies that a non-citizen with an honorable record and one who has given his best in educating a generation of Americans and promoting scholarship in the United States, must necessarily be discharged. And while the Federal Government, at the behest of the President, is condemning private concerns which are discriminating against aliens of *enemy* nationality, a great State is prepared to dismiss *British* subjects, without exception, from its hundreds of institutions, thus preventing them from earning a livelihood at a time when there is work aplenty.

It may be further stated that this man's work, as implied in encyclopedias, biographical dictionaries, and other reference works, has redounded to the credit of his adopted country, that he is sketched, in a French and a Dutch reference work, together with 21 other *American* educators, including William James, John Dewey, President Butler, Stanley Hall, Thorndike and Kilpatrick, that he has been cited as an American in British, as well as numerous other foreign periodicals and books. Moreover, when we take into consideration that this teacher was receiving only a small fraction of what fees his students paid the State, that not a cent of the taxpayers' money went to him, that on the contrary, the tuition which his students (sometimes approaching the figure of 1,000 for one class) advanced at the beginning of each course helped pay the expense of the administration, and finally that as a specialist in his field, it

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is not likely that he can be replaced, although he was lately receiving for his work about as much as an ordinary mechanic — when we ponder all this, we can only marvel at the callousness and unreasonableness of some people in responsible positions, who suppose that non-citizenship is the stigma of crime, whereas it is only the result of certain circumstances and often a condition of a temperament not given to opportunism. Do we otherwise penalize people who do not avail themselves of privileges? One might well adapt here Voltaire's reply to his British persecutors: "Have they not been punished enough already in that they lack the opportunistic spirit?"

If totalitarianism is mad, then democracy is "dumb". When the Olympic contestants from the United States and England returned from Germany in 1936, they reported to the authorities that there was a colossal military machine being built up by Hitler, largely underground. They particularly stressed the secret reserves of planes. They were treated as if they were little boys relating some fantastic story which, in their childishness, they believe to be true. When an American private in Pearl Harbor gave the alarm that Japanese planes were off the coast, he was laughed at. Is it surprising then that two Philadelphia reporters, masquerading as Nazi submarine officers, with the swastika emblem in full view, were guided to the docks and harbor, as if their Nazi ship arrived on a goodwill visit? And need we wonder at the destruction by fire of the *Normandie*, when reporters, who made a tour of the sixty-million dollar liner, found as much laxity among the workmen and officers as at a picnic, many of them smoking without regard to the consequences?

The motto of a well-conceived democracy is *noblesse oblige*, so Coughlin's *Social Justice* is permitted to indulge

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in sedition on the principle of free speech. Since we are not to bar German music from our programmes, Wagner's Teutomanic rantings are heard more frequently today than ever, as if German music of a more beautiful and universal quality could not be found.

The unprecedented success of the totalitarian state has been due largely to its singleness of purpose and unflagging pursuit of one objective — the world corporate. The ostensible rationale of dictatorship is the apotheosis of the state, *i. e.*, its head, to the degradation of the individual. The manifest rationale of democracy is to place the state and the individual on an equal footing. In this process, however, there arises an antinomy which might easily be added to the famous four antinomies of Kant. For the non-Fascist, the state exists only for the good of the individuals who are its inhabitants, or at least citizens. At the same time, unless the rights of the individual are relinquished in favor of the state, it, in its turn, is exposed to attack, as, indeed, we have learned only too well.

The struggle between democracy and totalitarianism in the womb of history, like the Biblical conflict between Esau and Jacob *in embryo*, is therefore unequal *ab initio*; and only through larger numbers, greater resources, and a quickening of the state- or collective principle, which always takes place in the face of danger, can democracy emerge the victor. The chief characteristic of all totalitarianism is to strike impetuously while democracy vacillates and deliberates and makes compromises, and allows for a recapitulation *in its very midst* of the mammoth feud which germinates in the diametrically opposed issues. Democracy, because of its adulterated taint, which, from its very nature, meets with no, or little, interference must, of necessity, exhibit an ambivalence unknown in totalitarian countries, where the slightest disagreement is nipped in the bud.

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The faults of the German Republic exemplify in general the defects of democracy; *e. g.*, the assassin of its savior, Walter Rathenau, is given a light prison sentence; and Hitler, the plotter and arch rebel, is granted his freedom after a short term in the house of correction, so he could drench whole states, including Germany, in blood and tears, and make out of Rathenau's murderer a hero. The smugness, easygoingness, and carelessness were duplicated in the United States.

It may be said emphatically that if Roosevelt did not happen to be President of the United States during this period, better still, if some isolationist, Tory, or straddler were the chief executive, Hitler's promise that Nazism will be intrenched for the next thousand years — we shudder to think of it — would not have been an idle phrase. Let us not forget that, as Hitler would proceed to conquer the world — yes and America too — those with democratic leanings would gradually perish. Nearly all the survivors would have the Nazi strain in them; and in the course of generations, through the process of natural selection, the milk of human kindness would turn into the gall of inhuman ferociousness. On the other hand, if and when democracy proves victorious, the Fascists and Nazis in tendency will still go on living; and the millions of young Germans who are prepared to die for their *Fuehrer* will certainly not turn democratic in a year or two. The only comfort one can think of is that millions of them will already have been *hors de combat*.

Part I
ISSUES

SOLUTION OR DISSOLUTION?

Many are the solutions now offered for Jewish troubles or rather *the* one trouble — that of existing; and Professor Hooton's article "Why the Jew Grows Stronger," in a recent issue of *Colliers*, is another attempt to deal with the rather perplexing situation.

The article in itself is not only a solid presentation of the anthropological view, but it is exceptionally popularized and fairly teems with lively digressions.

Hooton obviously thinks well of the Jews as a group. Perhaps many of them who were hitherto somewhat nose-conscious will have a greater respect for their proboscis, now that they realize its adult character as against the undeveloped and infantile noses of most so-called Aryans. We may also feel grateful to Professor Hooton for his assertion that "A Jew rarely has an insignificant countenance; if it is not distinguished, it is, at any rate distinctive . . . This highly evolved physiognomy makes the Jew conspicuous and self-conscious."

He is probably right in the observation:

"According to my experience Jewish people are as kindly, considerate, and polite in public as any group, and definitely superior in this respect to others whom I might mention. My only impression of bad manners in public is that they are more frequently displayed by females of whatever race,

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nationality, or age than by males. I merely suggest that any kind of conspicuous behavior in a Jew is likely to be identified as a Jewish trait for the reasons mentioned."

But when he further advances the now hackneyed argument about the superiority of the Jews as due to "the survival of the fittest", we, the more critical readers, begin to wonder whether there is not a fallacy lurking underneath the argument — a fallacy involving insufficient knowledge of history and a begging of the question.

Let us put it to the intelligent reader: Is Professor Hooton correct when he wishes it to be understood that:

"We go on merrily and righteously nurturing our 'Aryan' imbeciles, morons, and criminals, encouraging them to breed more of their kind, and supporting them at public expense. On the other hand, we persecute the Jews and try to destroy them, and actually succeed in preventing the survival of those who are *not* superior in wits and in constitution. Thus we make them better and better, while we get worse and worse. We put the very highest premium upon ability in the Jewish people, because we see to it that the devil always takes the hindmost. If we really want to compete with them successfully, we ought to clean out our own inferiors and leave theirs to multiply."

The Good Die Young

History teaches that the reverse is true. It was the superior Jew, the man who refused to foreswear his religion who died on the *auto da fè*. The rabbis, scholars, and communal leaders were the first to be sacrificed in every onslaught against the Jews, whether during the First and Second Crusades, the Spanish Inquisition, the Fettmilch

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uprising, the Chmelnicki pogroms, or the more systematic Nazi extermination. Ask yourself which Jews suffered more at the hands of the Nazis — the outstanding figures or the morons? — and you will at once sense the flimsiness of the distinguished anthropologist's case. How many of the leading Jews in Germany, Austria, Italy, and Czechoslovakia have committed suicide, how many have been killed either outright or by degrees in concentration camps as compared with the number of average Jews? The disproportion is so great that we cannot help coming to the conclusion that the Darwinian principle of survival, while holding in the natural world, is reversed in the unnatural world, that is to say, in a world where human fiendishness superimposes itself upon the laws of nature. And by whom is this injustice and brutality opposed? Who, therefore, bears the brunt of it, and as an individual succumbs to its ruthlessness? Is it not the superior man, the man of intelligence and vision, the man who can say with Bialik

*God with a feeling heart afflicted me
That aches when life with others goes not well;
I have a heart that writhes with stranger's pains
A heart that burns in everybody's hell?*

Is it not the man who found himself fighting the battles of all the oppressed that ended by being gibbeted, maimed, quartered, or burned?

*Yea, though he be forged by God with courage high
That tears down mountains, and is tireless still —
Courage that does not let him bow and cringe
But looks at evil straight and unafraid;
And though God had given him a tongue
Like to a cutting and a keen-edged blade.*

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His fate will still be the same, although the ideal for which he dies will in the end prevail.

Inexhaustible Vitality

One may say definitely that the Jews have lost more of their superior men and women than any other social or national group. It has been a source of wonderment to me, ever since I came to realize that fact, how the Jews could replenish the stock so amply; and in my *Peretz: Psychologist of Literature*, I hazarded the hypothesis that there is a latent or potential superiority which takes just so many generations to develop into manifest superiority, hence while some of the finest are killed off, other strata come up to the surface. At any rate, we cannot accept the survival argument as an explanation of Jewish ability, especially as the Jews have, contrary to Dr. Hooton's premises, cared for their backward members at all times during their history.

There is much in the article which is thought-provoking, occasionally a cryptic sentence such as, "We have exalted the witless proletariat, which now, under the leadership of fanatics and demagogues, threatens to destroy civilization and is attempting in Germany and elsewhere to extirpate the most civilized human group in existence." I wonder: is he referring to the proletariat in Germany, or does he begin with an allusion to USSR and end by blaming the German proletariat too? Or is he speaking exclusively of the *Lumpenproletariat*? Surely the workmen are not to blame for the plight of the Jews in Germany.

An Ending Which Ends Everything

The strangest thing about Hooton's article, which reveals so much reflectiveness and enlightenment, is the ending or conclusion which is so familiar, so trite, and so paltry

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that it constitutes an anti-climax to an otherwise vigorous thesis, and prompts us to exclaim with equal triteness, "The mountain gave birth to a mouse".

But even if you can guess what Dr. Hooton suggests, let him speak for himself.

"If we could get all of the Jews in this country and Europe to outmarry, it would leaven the lump of Gentile stupidity. There is enough ability concentrated in the few millions of Jews to raise the general average considerably if it were disseminated by intermixture. Absorption of the Jews by outmarriage would probably sacrifice the output of Jewish genius and the Jews would have to lose their cherished religion and their peculiar culture. I do not know that they would be willing to do it, but, if they did, they would confer a great genetic boon upon mankind, and at the same time would solve their own problems."

So we understand that, in order to benefit the world and at the same time to solve his own problem, the Jew might just commit suicide. Hitherto the Jews as individuals were ready to die so that their ideal might live; and it *did* survive. Now Hooton would have us dispose of the idea or ideal so that we might live as individuals — Gentiles. As youngsters, if we complained of a headache or a toothache, we would be told by our chums or classmates of a wonderful remedy to rid us of our affliction, namely to buy some poison and go to the railroad tracks, swallow the poison and lie on the tracks until an express train covered us.

An Exquisite Analogy

The same unforgettable Bialik has expressed a suicide suggestion, redolent of the usual Gentile recommendation to the Jews, in this beautiful manner.

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*In silence the trees have all bent over towards me;
"Rest thou in our shadow, here seek thy repose!
A gravestone like that, such a mound over yonder,
And straightway would cease all thy troubles and woes.*

*"Why need'st thou to suffer a hundred deaths daily?
Die once, and no sorrow thou ever shalt know!
Thy substance, in Peace we will share it among us,
A part for the worms, part to help our sap flow.*

*"For everywhere life, running full, bubbles over,
Thou mayst sprout as a bud; thou mayst grow as a tree,
Everywhere thou wilt live — 'twill be well with thee
brother*

*O flesh and blood, do but come hither and see!"*¹

After all, it is true, is it not, that the dead are of benefit to the earth, to the trees, and especially to the worms; and the dissolution of the body only helps to form other bodies of organized matter.

But even if this process of rapid assimilation were desirable, I contend that it would not be feasible. Let us suppose that in New York, ten thousand Jews and Jewesses were to make it a bounden duty to marry Gentiles, then just as in the economic world, the Jewish supply would be so great that the demand on the part of the non-Jews would be nil. The more the Jews were to show their willingness to assimilate, the worse their chances; and their status would become so low that the most worthless *Goyim* would begin to repulse them. I suspect that the result of such infusion would scarcely be worth while for anybody. Would Dr. Hooton expect individuals of his inner circle of friends to take such a drop, under the circumstances?

1) I am indebted to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell for her versification of my prose translations from Bialik, executed some years ago.

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Surely it is obvious that intermarriage of Jews and Gentiles, although always frowned upon, was not a rare phenomenon in the past, because the former had set a high value on their status. So soon as they begin to seek intermarriage *en masse*, their matrimonial prospect would depreciate even in the most tolerant and liberal circles. And as to the situation in Fascist countries, need we mention the legal hedge around such miscegenation?

No, my answer could be summed up in just four words: *Dissolution is no solution.*

PROMISES AND COMPROMISES

This is a period when the Jews are written about in practically every journal with a nation-wide circulation. I would rather that the Jews were doing the writing about others than that they be written about; for when they are written about, there is a "Vayhi". The adage "*Vu a vayhi, dort is a tzore*" (where the word "Vayhi" occurs, there you have trouble) derives its point from the fact that most of the sad chronicles of the Jews begin with the word "Vayhi". ("And it came to pass").

Behold! the Jew

The polygraphy on the Jews is a sure barometric indication of stormy days. The Jew is the subject of conversation and an object of study, like some new specimen that had been recently discovered, and about which there is a good deal of misgiving. It is an irony that the Jews have been living in various countries all these centuries, and yet they are the People Nobody Knows. Maybe Bruce Barton will take the hint and continue his "Nobody Knows" series, this time with the Jews as his objective.

Attempts to interpret the Jew both on the part of his fellow-Jews and that of the Gentiles have often assumed ridiculous proportions or rather disproportions. Even the symposium which was brought out in England some years ago, entitled "The Real Jew," left much to be desired, though

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the participants were all Jews of high literary and scientific standing.

It would take reams of paper to track down all the books and articles recently published that harp on the Jewish theme. At times it would seem as if the Jew's harp had become the most popular instrument in journalism. Occasionally, however, we discover an article which is so thoughtful and pregnant that we cannot help reflecting on the thesis proposed.

Professor Whitehead on the Jews

Thus, I am grateful to Professor *Emeritus* Whitehead of Harvard (formerly of Cambridge) for calling my attention to an article of his in the *Atlantic Monthly* of March, 1938. It could scarcely be flattering to the venerable and benign philosopher if he were told that his article was well-written and unusually stimulating, but it will no doubt surprise many a reader who knew of Whitehead only as an outstanding metaphysician and one of the world's leading mathematicians to see him so well oriented in the historical background of the present political witches' Sabbath.

In this essay, Whitehead, whose father was a friend of Sir Moses Montefiore, has some shrewd observations on the Jews, for example, that "Jewish thought concentrates on specific ideals conceived in the abstract, devoid of compromise and of the requisites for survival". (But the Jews *have* survived and therefore they must surely be adaptable.) He believes that the Jews have, therefore, no genius for political organization. Probably he would regard Disraeli and Stahl as exceptions. The Jewish problem concerns him deeply, but he rightly argues that it would do no good to go to war with Germany in order to settle it; and in general he appears to favor Chamberlain's appeasement policy, as

indeed his erstwhile brilliant pupil, Bertrand Russell, did until 1940, but we must bear in mind that the article under discussion was written before Hitler took Czechoslovakia "under his protection".

Africa — the Promised Land?

His solution of the Jewish problem is to provide for the migration of the undesired Jews to Africa, which has a great future ahead and which, through increased aviation facilities, will be brought closer to Europe and America.

I cannot help registering my disappointment at such a solution. This may be realistic politics, but it is not justice and not the type of sanity which we seek in humanity. If the Jews have contributed more than their share to civilization and culture, if they have spent their endeavors in making the world better, if their Bible has been instrumental in spiritualizing the barbarian nations — for all the good it has done them! — they deserve a place in the sun, not necessarily in the hot sun of Africa.

It is somewhat against the grain to be relegated to Africa or British Guiana just because one happens to be a Jew. And what if the black elements among the whites, the Fascist-Nazi forces, stir up the blacks against the Jew, as is, for that matter, already being accomplished; what if Hitler takes the notion of demanding that particular territory or else . . . — and, after all, there would be no sense in hazarding a war because of a couple of million Jews — where would the Jews be driven to next? Perhaps into the Kruger jungle. After all, there are 8,000 square miles of territory in this reservation. Why can not the Jews share it with the hyenas and the giraffes, the zebras and the elephants? It is related that when Weizmann for the first time surveyed the Kruger Park, he remarked grimly: "If only the Jews were

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as well protected as the wild jungle beasts!" And there was more truth than jest in this ironical sally.

Compromising with the Devil

No, it is as an enlightened human, and not merely as a Jew, that I cannot appreciate such proposals. I believe in compromises too; and John Morley's fine volume on *Compromise* has intrigued me as a youth, but compromises should be entered into between two more or less *reasonable* parties; otherwise it is not a compromise, but a cringing or grovelling. One would scarcely want to compromise with a madman; and the consequences of compromising with the Devil have been told in many a lay and tale, for example, Goethe's *Faust* and Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl*, to cite only the most popularly known productions. A compromise implies yielding on the part of each of the individuals involved. How can anything be regarded as a compromise when one of the parties always yields and the other always asks for more and still more concessions, and finally grabs everything without so much as a "by your leave"?

Our Guide — the Prophets

If the Jews have shown no inclination to compromise on a matter of principle, it is to their credit. That is why the teachings of the Prophets are still the only light which leads us on, the only hope which sustains the men and women who have been "afflicted" with ideals. If it were not for the faith that some day, remote as it seems to us now, the just will arise and down the beasts in human garb, life would hardly be worth living.

More power, then, to the Polish Jews who have fought for their rights and have never for a moment accepted the

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peculiar notion that Poland was burdened with a "surplus" Jewish population; and, in this connection, it is disheartening to think that a statesman of Chamberlain's position (I shall not say of his intelligence) is reported to have promised the Polish Minister, Josef Beck, to help relieve the country of its "excess" Jews, as if the native Jews in Poland had any less right to exist (for you can't call it living) than the Poles themselves. Perhaps this promise to Beck was a compromise, too, on the part of the British Premier, but if so, it was a compromise in which the Jews were being shamefully compromised. From which we learn this little moral: if you enter into a compromise about someone other than yourself, you are in reality compromising that person.

THE BRITISH VIEW

It was a rare opportunity to have a long chat with Professor Whitehead, *Emeritus* of Cambridge University, England, and Harvard University. Perhaps not all are agreed that the genial scientist is the world's foremost symbolic logician, but everyone around Harvard knows him to be the most charming personality in the vicinity of the campus. At 78 (that was in 1939), he has not lost the easygoing air and expletive vocabulary of the college junior. How can one argue with a man who is constantly smiling like a good-natured host asking you to partake of more and still more refreshments?

No, we were not indoors, we met on the avenue and stopped on a street corner, then walked, then stopped before the gate of the Faculty Club.

He kept continually referring to himself as a provincial Englishman. It is somewhat amusing to hear this emanate from the lips of a man of whom two great universities are justly proud. Nevertheless, his views on the Zionists, the Arabs, the appeasement policy, and the British Government are characteristically English. While not really provincial, they are perhaps insular enough.

Dr. Whitehead apparently is not in sympathy with his late fellow-philosopher, Lord Balfour, who, according to him, was interested in the Jews and not in the Arabs, and consequently gave utterance to the Declaration, which caused

so much mischief. He cannot see why the Jews should expect Great Britain to act as their sponsor in view of the delicate situation in which she finds herself.

Britain, he contends, is not yet prepared to meet a hostile Orient, and the Arabs can make it quite uncomfortable for the British, if the neighboring countries are stirred up, with certain European powers only looking for such an opportunity to undermine the Empire, through fomenting revolts in India, Egypt, and the rest of Africa.

If the Jews were realistic, they would not appeal to Britain in their difficulties with the Arabs, but would turn to the latter for an amicable understanding. England has troubles of her own and should not involve herself in further conflicts.

Professor Whitehead pleads the cause of Britain on the ground of her exposed position. We were all brought up to regard the British Lion as a formidable conqueror, but in reality the British army is small, the population of England cannot be expected to supply the requisites of a large military machine, and Britain has only her navy to fall back on. Under the circumstances, then, the Jews should not be insistent about the literal fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration.

This, I believe, is the typical British view, and in our indignation against the policy of the present British Government, we ought, perhaps, to reckon with it. That, however, does not mean that we should accept it.

IN A MINOR KEY

The season of the falling leaves is always naturally associated with gloomy thoughts. Willy-nilly, the wisdom of Ecclesiastes comes to mind. The political situation, the international surrender to Hitler, the bankruptcy of democracy, the plight of the Jew throughout the world — alas, cannot call forth a gay mood. How remarkably true to present conditions is the lament which the Bard of Avon gave us in these lines

*And purest faith unhappily forsworn,
And gilded honor shamefully misplaced,
And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted
And right perfection wrongfully disgraced,
And strength by limping sway disabled
And art made tongue-tied by authority
And folly, doctor-like, controlling skill
And captive Good attending captain Ill?*

The season of pessimism in a pessimistic period, not the Byronic pessimism we read so much about in literature, not the philosophical pessimism of Schopenhauer, but the realistic pessimism which we imbibe through the newspapers and which we must fight against with our inner faith necessarily makes the more serious of us brood.

Columnists are generally expected "to hand" their readers a laugh, but again turning to the seasonal Preacher,

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"there is a time for everything;" and *memento mori* ("remember thou must die") has been a maxim admonished in every situation. I shall take the liberty on this occasion to change it to *memento mortuorum* ("remember the dead"); for if the necrologists neglect their task, the columnist must remind them of their duty.

Zones of Bereavement

Has it ever occurred to you that the wider your circle of acquaintances, the greater the scope of your knowledge, the more extensive your bereavement? This seems to be a possible secondary interpretation of that eternal nugget of wisdom again to be found in Ecclesiastes, "He who increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow."

Those whose world is restricted to the immediate circle of their relations and friends will suffer bereavement, now and then, but those who have met or even have read about distinguished people in various fields suffer bereavement almost every month, or more frequently.

Worse still, they cannot share their grief with those around them; for although they may find a colleague who is familiar with a particular name, he may be entirely ignorant of another.

Those names making front-page news, movie stars, or virtuosi will of course be remembered, although even these are by no means favored for long; but if we break the news to a fairly educated Jew that, let us say, Samuel Alexander died last week, he will possibly come back with a puzzled "Who's the guy?"

Who's the Guy?

Unless he had taken a systematic course in philosophy and was, in addition, a voluminous reader, he would not

In a Minor Key

know that Alexander, who died at the age of 79, was the foremost British metaphysician of his generation. To some students he might have been the Alexander of *Alexander's Rag Time Band*. Had they been able to see what respect and admiration this patriarchal personality had evoked at the Oxford International Congress of Philosophy, they would have felt grateful for having caught a glimpse of his benign features.

When the news came of the death of that valiant socialist leader, Otto Bauer, several months ago, many readers no doubt confused him with Harold Bauer, the pianist.

Idelsohn, a man who had traveled the world over, collecting every bit of Jewish music extant, which he recorded in a monumental thesaurus of ten volumes, died recently in his fifties. A Jewish boxer, wrestler, third-rate cinema player, would receive more of a tribute even in the Jewish press. I remember Idelsohn, who died in South Africa, once rushing out of my study when he heard the clock strike ten. Little did I know then, when I shrugged my shoulder at this seeming ceremonialism, that the man was fighting death even fifteen years ago, and had to be especially careful of his hours.

The sunny little man who killed the pogrom leader, Petlura, certainly, at the time, had set the Jewish world agog, but when he died, also in his fifties, and I told a friend that Sholem Schwartzbard was no longer among the living, he turned and asked "Did Asch have an assumed name then?" It was not Schwartzbard as a national hero that I miss, but the jolly, genial, good-natured, modest, and genuine friend. After my lecture in Paris some years ago, he came up beaming to express his appreciation and walked away without introducing himself, but there was something about the man that caught my fancy. I called him back and asked him

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his name. Even after he told me, I could not associate this childlike person with the slayer of Petlura.

I happened to remark sadly to an acquaintance about two months ago, "What a pity that Goldberg should have died so prematurely!" "Goldberg?" he mused. "You mean Rube Goldberg?" Then, "Oh, the Goldbergs on the radio." He enumerated a few other Goldbergs — Yiddish writers, but the name Isaac Goldberg meant nothing to him.

What's Monash?

Here is a little mental test, as the newspapers falsely call that type of quiz — so I am back to my last. You may be sure that this is more significant than racking your brains to find out what city beginning with H and ending with G has more than a million and less than two million inhabitants.

You ask your son or daughter, or someone else's for that matter, to tell you whether Monash is the name of a plant, town, car, man, animal or cross-word puzzle rhyme for spinach, and see how many will guess that it belongs to a human being. I shall wager, however, that less than one in a hundred students, let alone the average man, will be able to tell you who Monash was.

I speak from facts; for the other day I showed a rather interesting letter from Sir John Monash to a bright Jewish Harvard student, but it was evident that he was trying to "refresh his memory". Well, I had to serve the refreshments first.

Now let us see who Monash was and ask ourselves whether he deserved to be forgotten so soon, even if he had been of a much less gigantic stature socially, intellectually, and strategically.

First, he was the Commander-in-Chief of the Anzacs (the Australian-New Zealand army) during the First World

In a Minor Key

War. He was the one, according to the testimony of both Hindenburg and Ludendorff, who had won (alas! it looks as if that war had not been won at all) the war for the Allies; for he and his Anzacs broke through in the decisive second battle of the Marne.¹ Ripley featured the fact in his "Believe It or Not" cartoon. Monash had degrees in law, engineering, and arts. For at least 12 years he was vice-Chancellor of the University of Melbourne. He was head of the State Electricity Commission of Victoria, which had an investment of about a hundred million dollars in a state-wide electricity supply scheme. He represented the Commonwealth of Australia at the inaugural ceremonies in Delhi, India, and was one of the foremost engineers in the world.

Monash is a national hero in Australia and the day of his death is an occasion for nation-wide commemoration. The recent attempts to foster anti-Semitism in Australia failed dismally when its sponsors were stupid enough to attack the memory of the late hero.

This man who broke the backbone of the German forces was a nephew of the great historian, Heinrich Graetz; and his grandfather was a publisher of Hebrew books.

Do you believe with me that the Jews ought to know something about this man who seemed so interested in Jewish affairs that he sent a personal money draft from Australia for a copy of my *Jewish Influence in Modern Thought*? It was from that time that our correspondence dated, which his untimely death, at the age of sixty-six, terminated.

1) If the "Aussies" have called forth the admiration of the entire world with their bravery in every critical situation (Crete, Lybia, Singapore), much of this morale is to be attributed to the tradition which Sir John Monash established and to the patriotic fervor with which he inspired them.

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Value vs. Ballyhoo

It is not that man's memory is so short which grieves me, but rather that our youth has no sense of value. They don't discriminate between gold and tinsel, and the name of a clown, baseball pitcher, crooner, or radio announcer is likely to remain with them much longer than that of a truly great man, if indeed he is fortunate enough to have made any impression whatsoever on their mind, to begin with.

THE USE OF MARTYRDOM

Unlike the warrior, the martyr is generally only passive, and therefore arouses commiseration rather than admiration. There are, of course, martyrs of different degrees. The martyrs of old who refused to veer an inch from their principles were, by virtue of their resistance, heroes, sometimes even surpassing the fighters in their courage.

To the victims of our own time, it is not given to exhibit that quality which the martyrs of religion have always been extolled for. They of our own benighted day are not allowed the slightest opportunity of dying for a principle. They have no choice. They are thrown into a concentration camp and tortured regardless of their attitude. They are harried and maimed, not because of their acts or beliefs, but because their grandmother was descended from grandparents whose grandparents were Jews. That is really what it amounts to.

This martyrdom is something novel, because even in the Dark Ages, Jews were not imprisoned unless some libel had been attached to them. Can the present martyrdom be regarded as of any use to the world? The question may seem altogether too utilitarian in this connection, but I think, myself, it is fraught with great significance.

Peretz's Great Moral

It is true that martyrdom is sanctified because of its very remoteness from the practical. In one of the loftiest stories

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I came across in literature, Peretz's *Three Gifts*, we find a departed soul seeking entrance to Heaven, but when the good deeds and evil deeds of the deceased had been weighed, the scales did not tip either way. The angel at the wicket had no choice but to deny admission into Paradise, pointing the way to purgatory, or rather an indifferent realm, where the agonies and pangs of hell at least will not be known.

When the disconsolate soul moans out, "The worst agony is preferable to nothing at all; nothing is more horrible," the celestial usher takes pity and bids her descend to earth again. "And if thou only catchest a glimpse of something that is surpassingly fair or good, seize thou it, and fly up to Heaven. Present it as a gift to the pious there. Knock at the little window and in my name, speak to the angel-guard. And when thou wilt have brought three gifts — why then, be certain that the gates of Heaven will be unbarred."

Three Gifts

The soul hovered above towns and villages. It took some time, but the three gifts were found, brought up to the wicket on high, and were readily accepted. What were these gifts — evidence of great and noble deeds? In the first instance, the home of a rich Jew had been invaded by robbers who pillaged it of all its valuables, warning him that the slightest motion of resistance would turn him into a corpse. He watched in silence while they were filling their bags, until they spied a hidden treasure in a small pouch. As they were about to take it, he uttered the words, "Not this." The Jew was immediately stabbed and as his blood gushed forth, the robbers with glee opened the sack only to find it contained nothing but sand — a small quantity of sand from the Holy Land to be strewn on his face at burial.

The Use of Martyrdom

The second gift was just an ordinary common pin which the soul drew out of a dying girl's limbs. It was in a mediaeval German town (probably Nuremberg). A young Jewess who was accused of sullyng the Host, by gazing at the holy procession, was sentenced to be tied by her luxuriant hair to the tail of a wild horse and thus be dragged through the town on this mad gallop to the whirl of the whip.

While the people came out in gala dress to enjoy this feast of brutality, the maid bent down and pinned her skirts at the seam, pushing the pins deep into her body, so that no part of her legs would be exposed. It was one of these bloodstained pins that the vagrant soul brought as a second gift.

The third gift which opened the gates of heaven for the hovering soul was a skull-cap which had fallen off the head of a poor Jew who was forced to run through two lines of soldiers as they lashed him fiercely with their knotted whips. He ran without a murmur, although his lacerated body was bleeding profusely. At one point, the whips had thrown his skull-cap to the ground. He missed it after a few paces, and walked back to pick it up.

And as the third gift was accepted, a heavenly voice spoke as follows: "These are truly beautiful gifts of surpassing fairness. They may be of no practical use. They may not even serve for show — But they are exquisite."

Thus did the great poet, Peretz, interpret Jewish idealism as something spiritual, above the utilitarian. Thus, too, may New England transcendentalism have its use, just as this very folk-tale serves a purpose in, at least, pointing a moral.

Jewish Outlook

Jewish tradition is inclined to view everyone as a martyr, who suffered unjustly, whether he braved danger in behalf

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of a good cause or not. Justice, again, seems to be the basic idea in this as in the whole Jewish outlook on life. It will be recalled that a man, killed even in an accident, is called a *Kodosb* (holy one). The Hebrew phrase *akbare mos k'dosh-im* (after death they are hallowed) to some extent paralleled by the Latin *de mortuis*, etc., is an exemplification of this approach.

No other people has endured as much martyrdom as the Jews. This statement is so universally accepted in intelligent circles that no documentary evidence is required to substantiate it. The present time is only a sample of Jewish suffering throughout the ages. The SS *St. Louis* episode is only a slight symbol of what has happened and is happening; and the *international* character of this episode is again characteristic of Jewish martyrdom.

We may now revert to our original question. Is there any use in martyrdom? My answer will turn out to be perhaps paradoxical. It is my belief that if there is no use in active martyrdom, then nothing else possesses any value; for it is only through martyrdom or privation that all our rights and benefits have been won. If it were not for the American revolutionists in 1775, we should not enjoy our freedom in the United States today. If it were not for the great liberator, Simon Bolivar, South America would still be enslaved to some European power. Were it not for men like Wilhelm Tell, even if that particular character never existed, Switzerland would not have been a haven of political refugees.

Passive Martyrdom

So much for active martyrdom. But what of passive martyrdom, such as the Jews, harried and hectorated by Hitler's gang, have had to endure? Even this has its use in re-

The Use of Martyrdom

mind us, who enjoy comparative comfort, that our own little inconveniences of which we complain so frequently and loudly are but a fly-buzz compared with the twelve-hour toil and hardships, buffets, and vile abuse, which have fallen to the lot of outstanding men like Dr. Robert Stricker, former Zionist leader in Austria, or Dr. Georg Mannheimer, Prague poet and editor.

To gain but a faint notion of the martyrdom which prominent, and in many cases, famous Jews are made to endure in the hellish concentration camps in what used to be Germany, we have but to recall that in numerous instances the sadistic guards have been bribed by the kin of the prisoners to allow their dearest ones to commit suicide. I could relate, if possible, more horrible stories in connection with the type of suicide chosen, of necessity, by the poorer Jews, but I am afraid that the facts would be too revolting even at a time when Jews are mourning the Jewish patriots tortured at the hands of the Roman military chieftains about two thousand years ago.

When people released from the best of these concentration camps in the modern inferno tell you, in all earnestness, that after all their lot was not so bad, that the labor lasted only twelve hours a day, that they soon became more or less adjusted to the scurrilous abuse, the ear-boxes, and kicks, and that even if a number of them were bruised, the wounds were not serious, that rarely were bones broken on such occasions — when that is related in the most solemn tones, we can well imagine to what abysmal depths human dignity has sunk.

THE MARXIAN ANGLE

I thought that I had learned a good deal about angles in the secondary schools and in the academy of life. There was a good deal said on acute angles, on obtuse angles, right angles, isosceles, and equilateral angles; and I have even come to know something about the eternal triangle; but recently there has emerged an angle which describes circles round all these other angles and bids fair to become not only an angle, not even a quadrangle, but a universe, a cosmos. It is the all-seeing, all-embracing, all-penetrating Marxian angle.

Marx may be right in many things, in his economic theory, in his view of historical materialism, in his proletarian manifestos, but an angle that pursues you, may even persecute you at every step, is definitely wrong. It is as dictatorial as Hitler or Mussolini.

My feud is not with the Marxians; it is with the "anglers"; and if there cannot be a Marxian without the angle octopus, which would seek to slant all our activities, then, of course, I must complain against the Marxians too.

Interpretations and Misinterpretations

"Can an angle be so obnoxious?" you will ask naïvely. Well, here are a few instances.

At one time, a strongly anti-Fascist paper on "Character in a Dictator-ridden World", which I prepared for the

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annual meeting of the American Philosophical Association, came up for consideration as a contribution to a quarterly that was devoted to radical thought; but a go-between who read this paper advised me that it would hardly be suitable for that periodical because it lacked the Marxian angle.

I remember once speaking, before a group of left-wing Jews, on the golden period of Jewish literature in Spain, dwelling on the beautiful poetry of Ibn-Gabirol, Yehudah Halevy, and Moses Ibn-Ezra. The little gathering seemed inspired by the specimens read, as shown by the rapt attention and radiating faces, when up gets a visiting angle writer-lecturer and asks whether these poets had stressed the class struggle in their poems. Class struggle, indeed, in the eleventh century! You must remember, however, that the Marxian angle is injected into the Cain-Abel incident. You see, Abel was an agriculturist, a proletarian, while Cain was a cattle-owner. The moral of the first slaying, as the tabloids call murder, becomes crystal-clear to anyone acquainted with the Biblical story.

The next time you pass a Communist book shop, or enter it, just make a mental note of the various dialectic attempts to Marxianize great writers. You will find titles like this: "Shakespeare — a Marxian Interpretation;" "Balzac — a Marxian Conception"; "Relativity — from a Marxian Angle"; "XYZ — a Marxian Analysis". One of these days, some absentminded writer may decide on a title which will read, "Marx — from a Marxian Point of View" — and maybe this will not be so absentminded after all.

Which all reminds me of a cartoon I had seen, in a French frivolous journal, of an elderly man *en négligé*, drawing a woman (the relationship to him is not stated), in still greater *négligé*, close to him — and as this was supposed to be in the Soviet Union, she demurred as she anxiously asked, "Wait, does the five-year plan allow this?" I admit

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it would have been more respectable for the cartoonist to have portrayed the situation of a drowning girl being rescued by a lifeguard, asking whether the *piatiletka* does not prohibit it, but if we substitute respectability for fact, we should be going the Marxian angle one better — only this time to the extreme right, instead of to the extreme left. Perhaps some day we shall discover that there is a Marxian way of tying our shoe laces or blowing the nose.

When the Marxian Angle Meets the Jewish Angle

It is when the Marxian angle meets the Jewish angle that the two angles become a — joke. I have never yet spoken on Jewish problems without someone asking me during the question period to confirm his view that anti-Semitism is an economic ill. Remove all poverty and anti-Semitism will vanish like a mist before the shining sun. I was once describing the events which led to the Spanish Inquisition, when up piped a voice wondering whether the banishment of the Jews was not merely a ruse to usurp economic positions for the non-Jews. I recognized at once the Marxian angle. I must say that the angle was rather obtuse this time; for the banishment of the Jews could have been avoided on their adopting Christianity.

Furthermore, Isaac Abarbanel, the great financier and statesman, offered to enrich the Spanish treasury if the cruel edict were repealed. It was evident, too, even to the ordinary person that the country would suffer materially if Jewish trade was to be entirely cut off. Surely it was obvious that the fanaticism of Torquemada, the jealousy and malice of the ruling officials, as well as the religiosity of Queen Isabella, were the chief factors in this catastrophe, but an angle refuses to reason. Historical materialism bases all social and political events on economic strife and stress, therefore psychological causes must be rejected.

The Marxian Angle

May I submit that even in the Nazi treatment of the Jews, the economic factor is not dominant. It is, of course, of some importance as a consequence. What possible gain, for example, could there be for Italian economics, if, let us say, all the 57,000 Jews are removed from the field of operation in Italian life? Mussolini's anti-Semitism is purely political and acquired.

In Hungary, Rumania, and Slovakia, it has been repeatedly contended by vice-premiers, premiers, and other high officials of the respective governments, unfriendly though they may have shown themselves in general toward the Jews, that the restrictions against the Jews in business and industry were injuring the best interests of the country. It is for this reason that the drastic legislation has not been enforced in any of these countries. Even Nazi Germany, with all its brutal inexorableness, has been compelled to make compromises.

If the Nazis wished to remove the Jews only because they wanted their economic posts and goods, then why must they spend millions on anti-Jewish propaganda *in other countries*, when they are in sore need of money to equip their war machine?

Anti-Semitism, Perhaps a Matter of Chemistry

Anti-Semites are primarily mentally diseased. This is true of Hitler as it was true, in a lesser degree, of Wagner, and of Apion, in antiquity, whom Josephus engaged. An anti-Semite, like a reactionary, could generally be spotted from his very expression and features.¹ He may be rich or poor, a

1) In my university extension class, I have projected from year to year a slide showing the likeness of a Boston reactionary with Nazi, and of course anti-Semitic, leanings, as well as of a young Communist (Jean Lenthier) who lost his life in Spain fighting in the International Brigade. The large majority of the students have no difficulty in distinguishing between the Fascist and the radical from their facial features and expression.

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capitalist or a proletarian, but if he has the "bug", he will hate the Jews. In the Soviet Union, they have a way of explaining away anti-Semitic sentiments by declaring that such tendencies are bourgeois relics. We must concede that the revolution, whether communist, socialist, or anarchist, since its rationale is equality, must do away with all race prejudice, but it cannot entirely exterminate the virus with which individuals are infected. I employ the word "virus" rather than "microbe" just because virus is something more virulent and is scarcely discoverable.

Perhaps if we had access to the brains of the Winrods, the Hunters, the Trues, and the Burchetts, in this country, we might be able to find some condition in their nerve cells which would tell the story. It would be an interesting story, too, but it would not be an economic tale — rather a lesson (well, yes in zoölogy too) in physiology or, in the last analysis, chemistry. That applies, of course, only to constitutional anti-Semites like Hitler, Cuza, Streicher, not to Mussolini, whose hand was forced. In his case, it might be a functional trouble which, however, in time will take on an organic aspect, as the ailment spreads and infects his whole point of view.

REPLY TO JUNG

There is an absorbing interview in the January (1939) issue of the *Cosmopolitan* between Hearst's ace foreign correspondent, H. R. Knickerbocker, who in his pre-Hearst career earned the Pulitzer prize, and Carl Gustav Jung, famous founder of the analytic school and exponent of the introversion-extraversion classification.

The interview is interesting for more than one reason. First, the subject is the most important one could think of at the present time, namely "Diagnosing the Dictators". Jung's political acumen is almost on a par with his psychological understanding; and whatever the man writes is fraught with significance, even if his mystical trend somewhat beclouds the issue. Secondly, however, the interviewer himself in posing the questions and countering Jung's rather *ex cathedra* declarations with deft retorts has performed a brilliant piece of work for his Magazine.

It was particularly fascinating for me because about two years ago, replying to my pointed queries, Jung repudiated all Nazi affiliations, stressing his efforts on behalf of scores of Jewish psychotherapists in Germany who were in utter despair. He contended that the German Society of Psychotherapists was about to be dissolved, on the ground that psychotherapy was a Jewish pseudo-science, so that when he was appealed to by a number of "Aryan" psycho-

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therapists to take the reins of that organization, he thought it his bounden duty to accept the presidency.

I shall not attempt on this occasion to publish our correspondence, even in part; for it would require a good many pages. Incidentally, it is well to point out here that the absurd reference to Jung as a Jew, in the Anglo-Jewish press, at the time of the Harvard tercentenary, when he received an honorary doctorate, is another indication of the tendency on the part of writers to associate every celebrity with the Jewish people. Jung is a Swiss Aryan, apparently of German descent.

What Jung Said

Only the bare skeleton in this long interview can be presented through a fluoroscope, so to speak; and perhaps the same X-ray apparatus will give us a glimpse of Jung's own mind.

To Jung, Mussolini is a leader by virtue of his great physical strength and mental vigor. Stalin is also a chief because of his brute strength and is less interesting than Mussolini, but Hitler is a mystic, a seer, a medicine man. "The outstanding characteristic of his physiognomy is its dreamy look. I was especially struck by that when I saw pictures taken of him during the Czechoslovakian crisis; there was in his eyes the look of a seer.

"There is no question but that Hitler belongs in the category of the truly mystic medicine man. As somebody commented about him at the last Nürnberg party congress, since the time of Mohammed nothing like it has been seen in this world.

"This markedly mystic characteristic of Hitler's is what makes him do things which seem to us illogical, inexplicable, curious, and unreasonable."

Reply to Jung

As to that picture taken during the Czechoslovakian crisis, curiously enough I have dealt with the propaganda aspect of dictator photographs in an article to appear shortly.¹ That a shrewd man like Dr. Jung should take stock in such "dreamy" pictures is astonishing. Furthermore it is more than naïve to say that nothing like the Nürnberg spectacle has ever been seen since the time of Mohammed. The speaker would have had a hard time proving it.

Let us, however, proceed.

Hitler, the Mirror of Germany's Unconscious

When Knickerbocker asks Jung why it is that whereas the Germans worship Hitler, he "produces next to no impression on any foreigner", Jung replies "Exactly, it is *because Hitler is the mirror of every German's unconscious*," but of course he mirrors nothing from a non-German [point of view]. He is the loudspeaker which magnifies the inaudible whispers of the German soul until they can be heard by the German's unconscious ear."

These words, or rather the thought, seemed familiar to me. So I went to my files and found a letter from Jung, dated December 19, 1936, in which he speaks about the differences between Jews and non-Jews. I shall quote only a sentence from this letter. "There is indeed a marked difference which has much to do with the age of the race. I found something very similar in Hindus, namely an extension or extensibility of consciousness into the subconscious mind, which is not to be found or at least [is] very rare with non-Jews."

If I understood Jung aright — and I admit that it is not

1) This has since appeared in *International Science*, vol. 1, no. 1, under the title "Assimilation and Determining Tendency in Photography."

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easy to follow him in his disquisitions on the unconscious or the subconscious — Hitler's great secret is that he has the same access to the unconscious which the Jews have.

Well, this is rather exciting. Hitler would certainly not thank him for this discovery. Of course, it is true, Jung might tell us that Hitler's unconscious is *Germany's* unconscious, while the unconscious of the Jews is only the *Jewish* unconscious. "Hitler's secret is twofold: first, that his unconscious has exceptional access to his consciousness, and second, that he allows himself to be moved by it. He is like a man who listens intently to a stream of suggestions in a whispered voice from a mysterious source, and then acts upon them."

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"His voice is nothing other than his own unconscious, into which the German people have projected their own selves; that is, the unconscious of seventy-eight million Germans. That is what makes him powerful. Without the German people, he would not be what he seems to be now.

"It is literally true when he says that whatever he is able to do is only because he has the German people behind him — or, as he sometimes says, because he *is* Germany. So with his unconscious being the receptacle of the souls of seventy-eight million Germans, he is powerful, and with his *unconscious perception* of true balance of political forces at home and in the world, he has so far been infallible."

"*Heiliger Nepomuk!*" we feel like exclaiming at this point. Are there not among the 78 millions, whose souls are supposed to be concentrated in Hitler's soul, a few hundred thousand whose bodies are concentrated in Hitler's camps and dungeons, at least 12 million socialists of various hues, 20 million Catholics who look upon Hitler as the anti-Christ, and perhaps 20 more million Protestants, of the type

Reply to Jung

of the heroic Niemoeller, fair-minded and upright Germans? There is again the original *Reichswehr*, not the Storm Troopers, which possibly despises Hitler.

Far from speaking with the voice of 78 million Germans, Hitler has behind him probably no more than a few million of the worse elements. How a distinguished psychiatrist and psychologist like Jung could serve such piffle is difficult to comprehend.

Hitler's Infallibility

To speak of Hitler's infallibility when all the arch-Nazi did was to reverse his pledges and take advantage of a weakened European morale is sheer puerility. A man with unerring judgment would not keep continually assuring the world that Austria's integrity would be preserved, that Czechoslovakia had nothing to fear in the way of boundary changes, etc., etc., and then violate his promises, when he saw the first opportunity for a grab. No, it was not infallibility that brought success to Hitler, but the vacillating behavior of his opponents. Had Eden been in power, had Lindberg not scared the British and French war authorities by his legends about the marvels of German airplanes and the shoddiness of the Soviet planes, Hitler would have had to backwater even after mobilization had been declared. In other words, Hitler had nothing to lose by his bold front, except a bit of boldness. He could say at the last minute that it was not his intention to sacrifice good Nordic blood and yet be a seer, a prophet, and a savior.

Was Hitler still infallible when he perpetrated the unspeakable outrages against the Jews, which did more than anything else to alienate Germany from the rest of the world? If the criterion of infallibility is — being in power, then why not apply the same test to Mussolini and Stalin?

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We may say that at no time did Mussolini fail of his purpose, that he speaks with the voice of 45 million Italians, that his unconscious is the unconscious of 45 million Italians, etc., and as to Stalin, by the same token, he speaks with the voice of 170 million people and has been just as infallible in his liquidations as Hitler in his purges. Al Capone's infallibility, too, could not have been brought into question before he slipped up on his income tax.

Jung's Nuggets of Wisdom

I shall now confine myself to quoting a few precious thoughts from the psychiatrist who stoutly denied in his letter that he had any sympathy for the Nazis.

(1) Referring to the goosetep, he declares "it is really a most impressive step." I should think it is rather a most *oppressive* and comical step, because it reduces human dignity to the status of geese.

(2) "I take it to be literally true that he has no personal friend. How can you talk intimately with a nation? You can no more explain Hitler by the personal approach than you can explain a great work of art by examining the personality of the artist."

No comment is necessary on this.

(3) "I don't think that Hitler has personal ambitions beyond that of the average man. Mussolini has more than average personal ambition. Hitler does not rule Germany. He is simply the exponent of the trend of things With Stalin, it is different. He does not identify himself with Russia. He rules Russia like a Czar."

That Jung hates Stalin and the Russians with a characteristically Fascist hatred may be gathered from further statements, particularly when Knickerbocker endeavors to put in a word on behalf of the Soviet chieftain.

Reply to Jung

"It would be a miracle if anybody could keep so naturally rich a country as Russia from being prosperous. But Stalin is not very original, and it is such bad taste for him to go about turning himself into a Czar so crudely in front of everybody without any concealment at all! It really is proletarian!"

Then comes a priceless remark: "I must say that we owe him a debt of gratitude," and when the interviewer asks "Why?" Jung replies "For the wonderful example he has given to the whole world of the axiomatic truth that *Communism always leads to dictatorship.*"

If that is not the case of the pot calling the kettle black, then I don't know what is.

The Crux of the Matter

Jung may have fumbled a good deal in his diagnosis of the dictators, but he has uttered a truth when he tells us that Germany's real objective is Russia, and in fact approves of the move. "So I say studying Germany as I would a patient and Europe as I would a patient's family and neighbors, let her go into Russia. There is plenty of land there."

When Knickerbocker interposes that the peace of Western Europe will surely founder, if Germany's guarantees to keep the new frontiers of Czechoslovakia intact are violated, Jung lets the cat out of the bag, and tells us what we already suspected, namely that all these treaties, pacts, alliances, guarantees, and what-not are just hocus-pocus stunts designed to dupe the little man.

Two passages in the last column of the interview read as follows: "England and France will not honor their new guarantee to Czechoslovakia any more than France hon-

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ored her previous pledge to Czechoslovakia. No nation keeps its word. A nation is a big, blind worm, following what? Fate, perhaps. A nation has no honor; it has no word to keep."

* * *

"For Hitler, however, more than for any other statesman in the modern world, it would be impossible to expect that he should keep the word of Germany against her interest, in any international bargain, agreement, or treaty. Because Hitler is himself the nation. That, incidentally, is why Hitler always has to talk so loud, even in private conversation — because he is speaking with seventy-eight million voices." (Jung could have thought of another reason, *viz.*, "Empty vessels make most noise".)

Jung has set out to diagnose the dictators, but he has in reality diagnosed himself. At the same time he has exposed the stupidity, the brutality, and the hypocrisy of international politics and diplomacy. I don't believe the nation as such is at fault. Neither Holland nor Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Belgium nor Greece is an alligator, lizard, or wolf. Nor is even a large nation like the American such a monstrosity. It is the wolves and foxes that get into power who create the evil. Some day the people may become both more intelligent and more courageous; and then the Hitlers will be an impossibility.

JUNG'S ANSWER

Jung's interview, which was something of a sensation, manifestly revealed Jung's political temper. When I once complained in a letter about the totalitarian scourge, he gave me to understand that dictatorship is what the world was coming to; and nothing could be done about it.

After the *Cosmopolitan* interview appeared, I took the opportunity of pointing out, in a letter, the fallacies which he was guilty of, apprising him of the fact that I was taking them up at greater length in an article (constituting the foregoing chapter).

The famous psychiatrist then wrote a defense which begins, "You don't seem to understand my humorous style. When I speak of infallibility (referring to Hitler) nobody would take it *au pied de la lettre*."

The whole letter is most interesting in that it gives a new angle to the original interview, but, considering the situation, it would be just as well not to reveal the full content. A few sentences will suffice to give us an inkling of Jung's meaning. "You entirely forget that even the German has a most powerful unconscious which is summing up in direct proportion to the number of German subjects. Even those Germans who do not agree with Hitler at all, share the psychology of his believers, *nolens volens*, because they are of the same stock. Several of my German and Swiss colleagues have observed the dreams of patients about

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Hitler: As far as the Crisis in September those dreams were favorable to Hitler without an exception. Among the dreamers were Jews and other people consciously most hostile to him. It didn't matter, in their dreams Hitler appeared in a very favorable form. Only recently, *i.e.*, within the last 3 months, I myself have observed a number of decidedly unfavorable dreams, and I also have been informed of some from other sources."

The information that some Jews have favorable dreams about Hitler will come to most of us as a shock, even if dreams are the expression of the unconscious, and not the conscious mind; but is there not a Jewish saying, "*A Yiddishe neshomeh kon men nit opshatzn*," *i. e.*, "You can't overestimate a Jewish soul?" I have a suspicion from what I have heard and read about certain Jewish refugees that somewhere in their inferiority chamber, they harbor a sneaking admiration for Hitler. I know of Jews who regard the former corporal, upon whom destiny smiled, as a great man. Had Republican Germany not been so stupid, the churl would have been an inmate of a prison cell at this time, and the world's sorrow would have been comparatively slight today.

I am not one whit convinced by Jung's rejoinder; and I hope that the founder of the Analytic School will not have to change his mind about Hitler's so-called infallibility, if the Swastika — heaven forbid! — bears down on the brave and peaceful Swiss people; since Appeaser No. 1 is still in power in Great Britain. (*The reference is to the late Neville Chamberlain.*)

As may be surmised, Dr. Jung's letter elicited from me a detailed reply, which contained among other things, the following: "As to the admiration which the masses feel for Hitler, is it not comparable to the great thrill which adolescents experience at a movie when they witness Jesse

Jung's Answer

James's or some other robber's exploits? Surely that is no criterion. Success in 'putting something over' is always followed by admiration, especially where the stunt is associated with one's own. When Hitler will be downed, and for all his 'infallibility' I know his time will come before very long, the same masses will lose no sleep or tears over him. Isn't it the story of prize bouts, toreador battles, or the ancient Roman arena spectacles? The unreasonableness of the masses is taken for granted.

"Hitler's peculiar mentality in being satisfied at first with some conquests and then wanting more is not so peculiar after all. Every youngster has that mentality. Every crook, every hold-up man has a similar change of attitude after he gets his wish gratified. The proverb, 'Give him a finger and he'll want the whole hand,' characterizes the attitude.

"After all, Hitler's strength is due only to the fact that he could cause a good deal of trouble, just as the bank robber who threatens to bomb bank and all unless the money is passed to him; and also to the vacillation and mutual distrust of the leaders of certain democracies.

"Of course Hitler will be remembered in history. So are Nero, Caligula, Genghis Khan, Ivan the Terrible, Attila, and others of that brand."

DEAR DR. JUNG

In the course of our correspondence preceding the outbreak of the present World War, the following letter was sent to the Swiss psychiatrist, who at one time was Freud's most devoted disciple.

Professor Carl G. Jung
Küsnacht
Switzerland

Dear Dr. Jung:

Your letter was welcome, as usual, even though we differ widely as to the nature or essence of Adolf Hitler; for it helps me to gain a better insight into the whole situation. We learn from opponents more than from those who agree with us. Most likely you did not yet know of the German-Soviet pact, when you wrote me; otherwise your reaction might have been different. You say I cannot "describe him as a complete monster who seems to be a saint to many millions." Even if I should accept your assumption that Hitler is revered as a saint by many millions, the question is whether we ought not to consider the intelligence of those who regard him as such. Is it not the Nazi-trained youth, in addition to the yokel population, which never is allowed to receive the true facts, but is fed on the propaganda of the controlled press and radio, that sees the savior

Dear Dr. Jung

in him? These same people, should Berlin be reduced to the state of Warsaw, would bring down countless maledictions on his head. In regard to this matter of divided opinions, you surely would not argue that the cow might possibly be something of a God because the average Hindu deems it sacred.

Questions and Answers

Personally I am inclined to question your statement that "Germans make of him a true prophet of God — a God-sent Messiah who has rescued Germany from utter perdition." Do Germans like Thomas Mann, Pastor Niemöller, Cardinal Faulhaber, or thousands of other minds of the intelligence and integrity that German science and literature were noted for — do those Germans who think and feel look to Hitler as a "true prophet of God?"

"How can you describe that man? How can you describe a man like Mohammed?" you ask, and you answer, "He is God to the one and Devil to another." You remind me that "Diocletian was surely a good emperor, yet he persecuted the Christians." Leaving aside the vast differences in eras (unless you think that no progress has been made in our broad conceptions of right and wrong; I may, for example, dwell on the fact that Aristotle and Plato took slavery for granted, and argue therefore that slavery is not an unworthy institution), I can still see a great gulf between Diocletian and Hitler. The Roman emperor was being constantly incited against what was to him an outlandish sect that was represented as plotting against the Roman Empire. Hitler, however, is intent upon persecuting everyone who is not a German and in sympathy with his policy. The Romans were dealing with hordes, barbarians, primitive tribes. Hitler has been fighting Nobel Prize men, men

of science, literary lights that have made Germany's culture known far and wide. What a comparison! If Diocletian was cruel and vindictive, arbitrary and blind to proffered proof, then of course, we should have to revise our estimate of him too. What turns me particularly against Hitler is his conceit, his pettiness, his absolute lack of magnanimity. He has sought the destruction of everyone who had ever offended him in his humbler days. He is not of the cast of Alexander the Great or even Napoleon. He has even had a Prague art editor imprisoned because his picture in the paper on the day of his triumph in Prague was not considered favorable.

The most significant part of your letter is, of course, this passage. "Politically I still hold that it would be wiser to let the wolf eat stones until he is lamed by his own greed. The loss of a few hitherto independent countries is less horrible than the destruction of European civilization as a whole. Political wisdom, I am afraid, is hard and cruel, but shortsightedness is a hundred times worse."

Nazi-Made Civilization

"The loss of a few independent countries?" I am wondering whether you would say the same if your Switzerland happened to be one of these few independent countries. Perhaps you would, if you are of the Alemanni rather than of the Helvetii. This point is only an *ad hominem*, however. What concerns me most is that you fail to realize the Irish bull implicit in your statement. Why, the loss of independence of free states through foul means is *in itself the very negation of civilization*. Perhaps by civilization you mean the technical expansion of Germany. Certainly I look for the kernel of civility in civilization. The Nazi gang does not possess the faintest semblance of that quality we call civil.

Dear Dr. Jung

I often find it desirable to invoke the *reductio ad absurdum* argument to spike an untenable view. In this case, we may assume then that in order to save civilization, it would have been better to allow Hitler to subjugate and enslave one country after another for, as the proverb goes, "*L'appetit vient en mangeant*," then have his demand for Alsace and Lorraine and colonies elsewhere acceded to. Thus gradually France and Great Britain would become so weakened that they would virtually be under the thumb of the "master of Europe". In other words, in giving Hitler free rein, we see no *terminus ad quem*. He might even want to annex Mars on a "peaceful" basis.

Wherever he would set foot in order to gain "*Lebensraum*", he would naturally institute the well-known Nazi "reforms" which are the nemesis of all culture and science. Just reflect on the present condition of German literature and science, although it is only a comparatively short period since the German universities and literary circles have been "*gleichgeschaltet*." Let us further picture Hitler expanding his species of civilization throughout South America, and then North America, surrounding all institutions with spies and rendering every thought accountable to the *Gestapo*. Is this the civilization we want to save? Would you, if after Hitler "welcomed" Switzerland into the Reich, and you were thrown into a dungeon for some remark you might have once made about the Fuehrer, still refuse to take sides on this issue, on the ground that you were a scientist?

Mass Murder Is Murder Just the Same

I may not understand the working of destiny and be charged with possessing a too matter-of-fact mind, but to me a man who causes the death of people for greed of power is no less a murderer than the man who kills for the sake of

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money. And Hitler has been instrumental in the anguish and torture of millions and the slaying of hundreds of thousands, as well as numerous suicides. The only extenuating circumstance which may be offered is that the man is power-mad, but robbers may be money-mad, and yet we don't honor them.

About Hitler's Alleged Infallibility

In your universally read *Cosmopolitan* interview with Mr. H. R. Knickerbocker, and also in subsequent letters to me, you spoke of the infallibility of Hitler, of his strong-mindedness, of his protecting the world against the evil of communism. You spoke of Germany's prospective expedition into Ukraine, and practically gave him your blessing. Can you now, upon the Soviet-Nazi union, still maintain that Hitler has shown an uncanny, or rather supercanny, infallibility? Could you ever have foreseen that Hitler, whose Nazi ideology was supposed to have been diametrically opposed to Stalin's communism, would fight shoulder to shoulder alongside of his arch-enemy, Stalin? Could a man of character ever make common cause with the man whose policy and ideology he has reviled so cordially as Hitler does in *Mein Kampf*?

Compounded Error Must Be Rectified

No, it seems to me that in the light of what has recently happened, you will be compelled to revise your judgment of the Nazi situation and your evaluation of Adolf Hitler. To let him go on with his conquests is to stifle civilization in every sense of the word, except possibly the technological phase, leading to more effective warfare.

In my recent book, *The Psychology of Common Sense*,

Dear Dr. Jung

which I am sending you with my compliments, you will find the chapter "Character in a Dictator-Ridden World" apropos of this discussion.

Postscript

The above was written in October 1939. Toward the end of November 1941, together with the season's greetings, I sent off the following note to Dr. Jung:

Professor C. G. Jung
Küsnacht
Switzerland

Dear Sir:

When the Russo-German pact was drawn up, I wrote you somewhat twittingly about your prediction in the *Cosmopolitan* interview. I must now admit that your political insight was borne out, but I hope and believe that this could not be said about your opinion of Hitler's infallibility. It seems to me that for the first time, the German Dictator spoke ruefully of the miscalculation about Russian resistance. At any rate, I am glad that your little Country is still free and independent.

The press some time ago reported that you were called in to treat the German Chancellor for a nervous breakdown. I wish it were possible for you to have changed his point of view in general.

Sincerely yours,

A. A. ROBACK

TO FIGHT OR NOT TO FIGHT

A Gentile friend tells me that attacks on the Nazis in the press, especially on the part of Jews, are very unwise since the German Jews are the sufferers in the end — a viewpoint which was expressed more than once, and in Jewish more often than in non-Jewish circles.

My interlocutor, who is a former student of mine, has put it more bluntly in such words as these: "It is easy for you to denounce the Nazis from your safe position, but what about those Jews who have to bear the brunt of your articles?" I must say I was rather taken aback at this attitude, and astounded when the same individual expressed his doubts as to the extent of the Nazi outrages — citing the stories which were circulating about the Germans at the time of the World War.

A Whale of a Difference

Must we at this late stage point out the gulf between war canards created in military propaganda departments in order to infuriate the soldiers against the enemy and eye-witness accounts accompanied by the very striking evidence? When a relative of mine who has shown the greatest admiration for Germany and its culture tells me what he had to undergo in prison during the 24 hours of his incarceration, and adds that he was well treated as com-

To Fight or Not To Fight

pared with those who did not have a foreign consul to protect them against the abuses and outrages which they had undergone, am I to understand that my kin is spreading falsehoods?

This reminds us of the anecdote told about a German Jew who had been released from a concentration camp and was met by a friend on the street. "Why Moritz," exclaimed the friend, "what has happened to you? Your face is all bandaged up, your forehead shows deep gashes, your arm is in a sling, and you are limping badly. What sort of an accident did you have?" "Sh, hush," whispered the unfortunate, "Don't look at me, or I'll have to go back to Dachau for spreading atrocity lies."

Yes, I suppose the sealed coffins which come back from the concentration camps to the families of tortured ones are only atrocity lies; and Miss Steele's very realistic film of her life as a captive in Germany is only a malicious libel, and all the reports of burning synagogues, swastika-branded Jews, deported families living in horse stables on a boundary line — these are all legends. If anyone is inclined to take this stand, then only a good dose of Nazi "beneficence" would be the cure.

The question has been further asked how a people like the Germans could bring themselves to maltreat so horribly human beings who have done no wrong. It is a question which I myself asked of a distinguished refugee. He cleared up the point. The Nazi clique has sought out the most brutal criminals in prisons, degenerate youths in reformatories, and appointed them wardens and guards in the various concentration camps. The sadistic orgies which have been practised during the reign of terror in Nazi Germany certainly cannot be associated with the peace-loving German people. Even many of the Storm Troopers, I have it on good authority, have shown some kindness to the torm-

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ented Jews, when not watched; but it does not take long to turn a body of weaklings, led by a gang of thugs, into a bloodthirsty mob. The youth of the country is especially easily influenced.

Thus far my friend seemed satisfied with the answer.

We now proceed to the more difficult task of justifying Jewish resistance to Nazidom in view of the ensuing terrible reprisals which make the Malayan practice of running amuck appear like a saintly act of mercy.

Here is my answer.

Self-Protection not Vengeance

It is not the German Jews I am fighting for when I and many others like me are warring on the Nazis. The battle is waged on behalf of everyone, including ourselves in America.

"To fight or not to fight," is reminiscent of the soliloquy, "To be or not to be?" The one question really points to the other, symbolized in the Darwinian phrase, "struggle for existence". The Jews are abused not only in Germany. By means of a formidable propaganda monster (monster may refer to Goebbels or to the machine which he has perfected), the Jews throughout the world are being maligned and defamed. In every country, there are dogs listening to their master's voice in Nazi Germany, ready to bark and bite if they are not muzzled. We have had plenty of instances in our own United States.

Before me is an issue of the *Hamburger Tageblatt* of Thursday, November 17, 1938. Hamburg, until the Nazi regime came into power, was one of the most cosmopolitan and civilized cities in the world. In this German newspaper we find articles breathing hate against the Jews, not only in German, but in English. It is evident that the Nazis are

To Fight or Not To Fight

making every effort to poison the mind of the world against the Jews. In a ridiculous diatribe full of venom, entitled "Jews Endanger Peace of the World," the scribbler attempts to persuade the English-speaking world that Hershl Grynszpan's "terrible crime cannot be considered the deed of an irresponsible single person," in other words that the 17-year-old Hershl was involved in a plot of international Jewry. Notice, too, how the deed of a crazed boy whose parents had been brutally treated by the Nazis, is called a "terrible crime," while the assassinations of Kurt Eisner, Rosa Luxemburg, Theodor Lessing, and above all, Walther Rathenau are considered acts of patriotism.

Our Battle Is Your Battle

Shall we sit back with folded arms and listen with equanimity to the horrible calumnies that are being spread throughout the world by malefactors and thus encourage their nefarious practices? For naturally, if we do not retort, millions will gain the impression that the libels must contain at least a grain of truth. The adage, "Silence gives consent" is too well ingrained in the minds of the public. Or shall we do our utmost to expose the lying villains in all their shamelessness?

I contend that whether we are Jews or not, the latter should be our policy. *We are fighting the Nazi plague not only as Jews but as Americans.* The more leeway is given to that pest, the greater is the danger that threatens us. Already, the concessions allowed the Nazis have made them powerful. Should we retreat further, no one can tell what may happen to us here when circumstances change; for we must remember that *in the most democratic country there is bound to be a fifth column*, which betrays the cause of the people. One cannot overemphasize the fact that Naz-

ism will spread as soon as we begin to withdraw from the present world Armageddon.

The possible aggravation of the plight of the German Jews must, of course, concern us deeply; but we cannot afford to lose sight of our certain catastrophe, if we merely remain indifferent to the aggression of the Nazis. Would it be a sound argument to have a court refrain from calling a particular witness to testify against a gangster, on the ground that the gangster's pals may later "take the witness for a ride?" What would happen if such possibilities were to be taken into consideration? The community or country would be ruled by gangsters; for all crime thrives on fear on the part of the public. The recent Nazi triumphs have also come about as a result of terror on the part of powerful countries like Great Britain and France. Even the recent Pan-American conference was a disappointment because against the courageous policy of the United States and a few other, principally Central American, states, there stood out the timidity of most of the South American states.¹ One may well shudder to think what this weak-kneed attitude among individuals and countries is likely to lead to.

Our Duty to the Country and to Ourselves

The least we can do is to fight by word of mouth and pen, to bring enlightenment to our neighbors, to dry up the miasma of foul propaganda by the fire of the truth. The New Testament dictum "The truth shall make you free" takes on an aspect of special significance at this time.

1) Even at the moment this is about to go to press, weeks after Japan has made its dastardly attack on the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor, Argentina is intent on remaining superneutral, and speculation is rife whether the inter-American conference at Rio de Janeiro will not share the fate of the League of Nations.

To Fight or Not To Fight

The world is still ignorant of the full meaning of Nazism, still unaware of the bloodcurdling fiendishness of the concentration camp guards and wardens, of the gospel of mad hate taught in the schools. It is the duty of everyone of us first to become acquainted with the facts ourselves and then to convey these facts to all with whom we come in contact. We might work with organizations, but also as individuals we can exercise our influence. If a store we have been patronizing is selling Nazi goods, it is not sufficient to stop making purchases there. We must inform the proprietor of the reason and if that has no effect, call the attention of our friends to this form of abetting Nazidom by the concern involved.

Spread These Books

There are all sorts of books on the Nazi network of chicanery, on their system of education. Why, the *Nazi Primer*, which is the textbook circulating in Germany, is the best weapon we have; and we should insist that all Americans with whom we are on friendly terms make themselves acquainted with this gem, written by the Nazis for the Nazis.

One of the most telling books on the subject is Erika Mann's *School for Barbarians* (Modern Age Books) which gives us an intimate portrayal of educational life in Germany. If only every one of my readers were to buy a copy and, after reading it, present it to a friend, Nazidom would stand a bit more disgraced in this country, although it is absolutely shameproof.

In conclusion, I may be allowed to repeat the words I uttered at the annual meeting of the American Philosophical Association: "In our dictator-ridden world, the struggle for liberty on the part of the individual becomes the

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highest virtue and its goal the *summum bonum* of society. The maxim or imperative, in this instance, becomes, 'Act as an individual in the cause of collective freedom, as if your effort alone were necessary to turn the tide; as if your fellow-beings are bound to coöperate with you in the same cause, in the firm conviction that this cause is certain to win in the long run!' "

* * *

P. S. What has happened since 1938, when the foregoing was written as a syndicated article, proves the author's position to have been more than tenable.

POLISH-JEWISH RELATIONS

Foreword

No doubt many a reader will feel that it is impolitic to bring up at the present time the question of Polish-Jewish relations prior to the outbreak of the World War II. It will be pointed out that the Polish Government has had a change of heart, as is evidenced by the statement of its Ministers - in - exile and the appointment of Dr. Ignacy Schwartzbart, Artur Zygelbaum, and the late Herman Lieberman to high office.

There is no question in my mind about the favorable attitude toward the Jews on the part of Count Zaleski, Premier Sikorski, and Minister Stanczyk. Thousands of Poles have become convinced that they had misjudged the Jews. Even those of the Polish ministry who, as destiny or poetic justice willed it, escaped to Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv — of all places — whither they would deport a million Polish Jews, must have often thought of their project with something of a blush.

We are quite certain that the Poles will be able to get along with the Jews in Palestine. It remains to be seen whether their relations will be just as amicable in a liberated Poland. The incident in Scotland, when high officers of the Polish legion brazenly requested that one of the best Polish poets, Antoni Słonimski, be asked to refrain from addressing

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the military gathering, in spite of his Christian profession, is not too auspicious.

Reports of arrogance toward the Jews, on the part of Polish officials in London, in spite of all attempts to hush the unpleasant matters up, are seeping through the press; and we must shrug our shoulders at such impudence. If the Jews are thus insulted in London, would their treatment be any better in Warsaw?

Let us hope that the anti-Jewish representatives among the Poles will be in the minority, that the Nara and Endek elements will be reduced to a mere handful, but let us not delude ourselves into believing that facts and not emotions govern the ordinary person. Is it not true that Walther Rathenau, at the most critical time in German history, saved his country from being utterly crushed? And is it not equally true that he was murdered with the connivance, if not at the behest, of those very powers that sent Germany to its ruin?

Will Jewish heroism in Poland be recognized when the Nazi gang in that country is exterminated? If the present liberal government rules at that time, the Jews will have little to complain of, but who can guarantee that in a short time, the Becks and the Hallers (yes, and even the Kozłowskis, who serve the interests of the Nazis in this very war), will not be back at the helm and steer the state in the old zigzags?

The memory of man is but like a blade of grass. The problem will be to educate the masses and particularly the youth that to assume an attitude of superiority toward a minority is deleterious to the country at large. When the Poles recognize that the Jews are no better nor worse, or to put it differently, that in some respects they are worse and in some respects better than themselves, the problem will be solved.

Polish-Jewish Relations

To me, it has always been a puzzle that a great people like the Poles should resent not only criticism but even queries which might be interpreted as possible criticism. I could not understand, during my visit to Poland, why every classroom in the Polish schools must display a large framed portrait of the then Polish president. If one were to ask me, as a psychologist, to state the most characteristic faults of Poland, I should say that they were: *sensitivity to criticism and ceremonialism or formalism*. These faults are, of course, compensated for culturally in the arts, but in actual life, they make unnecessary demands.

Poles and Poles

The Refugee Polish Government was undoubtedly ill-advised to send as goodwill emissary to the United States a man whose Fascistic and anti-Semitic tendencies have been, alas, too obvious. Indeed, General Haller's presence here will only serve to alienate a number of influential potential friends of a restored Poland.

In Jewish circles, General Haller's mission has aroused protests varying from mild remonstrance to violent opposition (on the part of a few journalists), but I think we all agree that the Polish Government is not to be identified with the Polish people. In most countries, there is a sharp difference between the ruling class and the masses. (Even a democratic country like Great Britain is sometimes similarly situated, so far as the Cabinet is concerned.)

Let us not forget that there are Poles and Poles. If punning were not regarded as a literary sin, I should have said that, in many cases, Poles are poles apart from one another. Quite aside from the legends of a Jewish King in Poland (Saul Wahl) and a Jewish virtual Queen (Casimir's Esterke), the fact that Poland harbored a larger pro-

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portion of the world's Jewry than any other country would indicate that conditions there, in past centuries, were favorable for the Jews. Some of the Polish kings were most friendly toward the Jews and allowed them privileges rarely bestowed on them elsewhere. For every vicious nobleman there generally was a humane counterpart. Need I remind readers of Count Potocki (the *Ger Tzedek*) and Prince Radziwill?

Obverse of Medal

There have been hooligans, of course, in contemporary Poland, but if anyone will point to the bestial officer in Singer's *Brothers Ashkenazi*, he must also in fairness accept as a typical Pole the physician in Asch's *Warsaw*, who pays for the education of a studious Jewish youth.

If some of Poland's literary lights were anti-Semitic in expression, it is no less true that the greatest poet Poland produced, Adam Mickiewicz, the Polish Shakespeare, was a philo-Semite in an unusual degree. It has also been persistently rumored that both Mickiewicz and his equally distinguished contemporary, Słowacki, were of Jewish descent.

In order to gain an insight into the sensitive and reflective Polish mind, we need but read the Jewish novels of Eliza Orzeszkowa (*Meier Ezefovicz*, for instance) and the poetry of Marja Konopnicka. The foremost champion of Jewish rights in Poland, who denounced the Endek machinations and excesses in most emphatic terms, was a Polish authoress, thus compensating for the maliciousness of another authoress, (though unliterary) — the lady who introduced the bill in the Sejm to prohibit ritual slaughter.

Twentieth Century Anachronisms

There have been extraordinary events to record in the Poland of only three or four years ago. The spectacle of a

Polish-Jewish Relations

Jewish student standing (so as not to sit on the ghetto benches set aside for the students of her race) while her father, a famous anatomist, was lecturing, is something worth pondering. At the same time, it is gratifying to note that among those who placed themselves on the side of the Jewish students in the lecture halls, was none other than the fair (in more than one sense) daughter of Poland's famous marshal, Jozef Pilsudski. Her mother, too, was definitely in sympathy with the Jews, and very recently expressed herself warmly on behalf of the Jewish victims in Nazi-occupied Poland.

To be sure, the instigations of some of the educated journalists and publicists pass our understanding. In the Poznan newspaper, *Wielko-Polanin*, a fantastic story is told which smacks of mediaeval beliefs about the Jews.¹

According to the report, a peasant woman in the vicinity of Poznan allowed a couple of Jews to spend the night in her barn, and sure enough the estate was struck by lightning and sustained considerable damage. The owner, expatiates the newswriter, besides suffering material loss, is embarrassed because, when she applies for assistance, she is rebuked for having shown hospitality to Jews *who attract thunder*. "For it is believed that there are Jews who possess the quality of attracting thunderbolts." This seems to be confirmed by the fact that a similar case occurred in the village of Talari where, at the time some Jews lodged at the house of one of the peasants, a bolt struck the courtyard and stunned two calves. "Whether the Jews really have such magnetic properties," philosophizes the writer, "we do not know, but for the sake of protection, we should advise against receiving Jews as lodgers for the night."

1) This, of course, appeared before the German occupation of Poland was dreamed of, except by the Nazis.

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Jews as Thunderbolt Magnets

As if this were not sufficient, another caption greets us in the same issue, reading, "Cow falls dead at the sight of Jew." Here we are given to understand that when two Jewish cattle dealers entered the estate of the "well-known friend of the Jews, K., one of the cows was so overwhelmed that she fell dead on the spot." The moral drawn by the newswriter is this: "Whether the Jews compensated the owner for his loss is unknown, but in the future, he will think twice before allowing Jews to take lodging for the night. It is worth mentioning that in G. a thunderbolt twice struck a farm where Jews were sleeping, in the one instance burning the barn, and in the other felling a calf."

Of course my readers will shrug their shoulders as if to say, "That's impossible."

Conflicting Forces

It is no less impossible than the ejection of aged Jews from moving trains or of girl students from second-story windows in the university. Again, however, let me point out that if there were such brutal and cowardly ruffians in the universities, they were counterbalanced by refined and courageous Polish students who risked their lives in order to protect their Jewish fellow-students from harm. We can also single out for our appreciation the members of the Polish Workers' Party and peasants who defended the Jews at all costs.

I, for one, continue to have faith in the Polish people.

In connection with the above, a copy of my letter to the Polish Minister of Education is here reproduced as an added exhibit.

Polish-Jewish Relations

October 29, 1937

To His Excellency
Professor Wojciech Świątosławski
Minister of Religion and Education
Republic of Poland
Warsaw

My Dear Sir:

In 1930 it was my privilege to address the Philosophical Society of the University of Warsaw, at the invitation of Professor T. Kotarbiński whom I met at Oxford, where I was a delegate to the Philosophical Congress from the United States. The memories of that evening, when for the first time I made a public address in German, are still vivid with me; and the subsequent discussion which was continued in the Café Italia with some of your leading professors, also one or two men in uniform, as well as the glamorous and sparkling atmosphere of that café, has left an indelible impression on my mind.

Poland has always had a strange fascination for me, perhaps because the first year of my life had been spent in that country. I still remember some old revolutionary Polish folk-songs dating from 1863, which my mother used to sing. When your professors came to Harvard for the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy, I personally attended to their comforts, and still treasure the appreciative letters from some, like Professor Kozłowski.¹ I not only sent my own books to the University of Warsaw, even as early as 1923, and other universities (like Lwów) which requested them, but promoted

2) Prof. Władysław M. Kozłowski, born in 1859, died in 1936. A noted patriot, he is not to be confused with his namesake who has recently been reported to have joined the Nazis.

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the interests of Polish science — at least at Harvard, where I had several books ordered for the Library. On visiting the University of Warsaw, I brought back with me a volume by your noted Professor Ochorowicz, with many annotations in the handwriting of William James, to deposit in its magnificent library. It so happens, too, that for my illustrations of sentiment at its highest, I use parts of Chopin's exquisite *Sonata in B minor* (finale) which I interpret as a Polish *épopée*; and curiously enough, the only portion of Tchaikovsky's symphonies which thrills me is the second movement of his almost forgotten *Polish Symphony*, with its ineffable expressiveness.

What then, in view of all these Polish leanings, must be my pain and anguish to learn that the Polish Government had officially submitted to the Mediaeval demands of the Endek students and decreed that the Jewish students be segregated from their Gentile classmates in the lecture halls. We have a saying in English, "Cutting one's nose to spite one's face." This measure, however, seems to be "Cutting one's face to spite the nose"; for there can be no semblance of doubt that Polish prestige will suffer in every democratic country because of this attitude, which is calculated to undermine the ideals of science and to defeat the very purpose of education. I admire the resistant stand of the Jewish students, many of whom will reflect credit on Polish scholarship in the years to come; and I trust that you, in collaboration with other liberal educators in Poland, will do your utmost to remove a stigma from the fair escutcheon of Polish university life. I can understand mob spirit in creating excesses,

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but it seems unbelievable that a Government which had come into being after the repressive rôle of a foreign aggressor had subjected the Poles to similar indignities would not heed the principles on which the new *post bellum* states had been established, and would bestow its official sanction upon an unmistakable barbarism in the educational sphere. I feel quite certain that your great Marshal, General Piłsudski, who in his younger days worked together with Jews in many capacities, would, had he lived today, not have countenanced such a move.

It is difficult to see how I, if invited again to address an academic gathering in Poland — and if I should not be invited again, it would not be because my standing as a psychologist has dropped, or because I have lost caste — could possibly accept the invitation under the circumstances. During my short stay in Poland in 1930, I met a number of these students that are being discriminated against, and they are in no way different from the Jewish students in the United States. A division of students on a ghetto basis in American lecture halls and laboratories is unthinkable; and I can well imagine what the late champion of Polish rights, Woodrow Wilson, who was President of Princeton University, would have thought of such treatment to an integral portion of the academic body.

I can assure you that American educators as a class are decidedly grieved at a situation which is a distinct anachronism in our day.

Faithfully yours,

A. A. ROBACK

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Academic Episode

A few days ago (before the conquest of Poland was completed) just as an International Congress on the Unity of the Sciences at Harvard University was drawing to a close, something unexpected happened.

Professor Carnap, who was in the chair, called upon Professor Neurath, the genial leader of the positivist movement, then of The Hague, to make a few announcements in connection with the next few congresses. Invitations to Oslo, Amsterdam, and other places were approved by the members of the Congress. Then Professor Neurath conveyed the wish of the Polish philosophers to have the Congress meet in Warsaw in 1944, because the year was of special significance as an anniversary to Poland.

The ironical smiles that could be seen all around are not important. Even putting the question before the Congress with the qualification "if possible" did not altogether satisfy the problematic situation. But the surprise came when, in response to Professor Carnap's call for a vote, a young woman sitting next to me piped up "No, I object." Asked on what ground, she said, "Because of the Polish restrictions against the Jews." There was a slight wave of embarrassment noticeable in Emerson Hall; and Professor Carnap remarked that, of course, the Congress could take place in Poland only on the assumption that there would be no discrimination.

The lady who caused the stir is not a Jewess, but the Czech wife of a Gentile Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor (also Czech), prominent in leftist circles.

Whatever the motive — and I have no reason to believe that the interpellation was actuated by other than a sense of justice — the episode, perhaps common enough at political meetings, was quite an impressive incident at a Con-

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gress of philosophers and scientists, dealing with the abstract in most abstract terms.

The irony of it (aside from the fact that Warsaw is now held by the Nazis) is that the Polish professor who invited the members to meet in Poland is the greatest liberal in his country, a man who is held in reverence by all progressive elements, although he is in his early fifties and has no patriarchal appearance. Professor Tadeusz Kotarbiński, whom I am happy to count among my friends, and whose letters on the Jewish question I hope to publish with his permission some day, was the leading spirit in the fight against the ghetto benches in Polish institutions and himself stood during his lectures because his Jewish students had resolved to stand throughout the period, rather than sit on those Jim Crow seats. It was this man, popularly referred to as a secular saint, who thus bore the brunt of his Government's follies.

RUMBLINGS AGAINST REFUGEES

In a chat with an editor for whose courageousness and fair-mindedness I have a high regard, and who, but for a limited cultural outlook, might rank with the most influential editorial writers of the day, I received the impression that in his rigid impartiality he is somewhat disappointed with the attitude of the Jews of late. It was a surprise to me because in his crisp and incisive editorials he had always espoused the Jewish cause as the cause of liberty and fair-play.

Since he is not the only one to feel that the Jews are using their influence unwarrantedly, I think it is high time that we discuss the situation; for in every community, we shall be called upon to meet the objection. Let us be prepared.

This editor of a newspaper which enjoys a circulation of over 250,000 and, therefore, a reading public of upward of half a million, is of the opinion that the Jews should not bring any pressure to bear upon any government officials so as to influence their stand in relation to the international situation. The question of Palestine should, according to him, not be broached in Washington. Furthermore, he thinks that we should not be eager to stir up any feeling against Nazi and Fascist policies which might possibly lead the country into war. Above all, the Jews should refrain from bringing refugees into the country who are likely to throw citizens out of work.

Rumblings Against Refugees

You will, doubtless, say the editor referred to is far from being a friend of the Jews, a humanitarian and champion of liberty. All I can do to redeem him is to point to his many fearless statements on behalf of every just cause and against every Fascist move. The Teachers' Oath Law had in him the most outspoken opponent. Although he is of Irish stock he thought the Irish in this country were exceeding their privileges when they sought to cause friction between the United States and Great Britain at the time of the Home Rule feud. He is a good Catholic, yet he would have no embroilment of this country in the Mexican-Catholic controversy. In other words, he is for keeping political issues clear, and as he expressed it, he would not have a drop of American blood spilled for grievances other than American.

Grumbling

Westbrook Pegler, posing as a liberal writer, has gone a step farther and has actually chided the Jews who, he said, were treated in very few countries as well as in the United States, for their concern about fellow-Jews in the rest of the world.

We can well imagine that pronouncements of this sort will have their repercussions elsewhere, and there will always be thousands of timid Jews who orient themselves only with reference to the question, "What will the Gentiles say?"

Not for a moment do I forget that we must reckon with the feelings of our neighbors and that we owe our allegiance to the country in which we have taken up our abode, but I think this talk about gratitude for not being persecuted is tommyrot. It is the same *motif* so often heard in political circles, namely, that each one should be grateful for earning a living in the country in which he is willing to work.

The Jews must meet the criticism levelled at them by friends not because they are Jews but because there may be something in it which needs either clarifying or correcting. In other words, we answer as individuals, as loyal Americans, not as Jews. And this is my reply to the editor in question, to Westbrook Pegler, and to others. Perhaps many Jews in the near future will be called upon to explain their position, and the reply will give them a suggestion or two.

An Open Letter

My dear J. T.:¹

I have been thinking about your misgivings expressed last week with regard to Jewish favoritism and alliances with the rest of Jewry in other parts of the world. Evidently you would have the Jews in this country do nothing to help the cause of their fellows elsewhere. You have mentioned the parallels of Mexico and Ireland.

May I take the liberty to call your attention to the fact that there is no great similarity between the plight of the Jews in the world and the status of the Irish under British rule or the Catholics in Mexico. It is the difference between a man who has been bludgeoned by a thug and lies in a pool of blood with no one around to help him, and another who seeks aid for official recognition.

If you discovered someone in the street unconscious, you would not bother to ascertain whether the locality was under the jurisdiction of this or that authority, whether this or that hospital would be willing to receive the unfortunate individual. That

1) As this page goes to press, the sad news comes to us that Joe Toye, who only last week told me he was eager to see the letter in print, has succumbed.

Rumblings Against Refugees

is just how we can picture the Jew in the world today, when the metaphorical individual is turned into a realistic group.

If there were any nation concerned, in the slightest degree, about the suffering Jews, then the Jews themselves would probably not exhibit such feverish activity. They would certainly relax in their efforts. Unfortunately, in a world of injustice, oppression, and sadism, *the Jews have not even a place to exist in* and are at the mercy of inhuman tyrants.

While it is true the Chinese are undergoing blood-curdling experiences, they at least have a home. The Jews are being driven hither and thither worse than cattle; for cattle will be welcomed and will receive shelter if gone astray.

Instead of accusing the Jews of favoritism, nepotism, or clannishness in this connection, I think the tables should be reversed, and the condemnation be attached squarely to a callous world which merely reads the newspapers and says, "Well, I guess the Jews are having a pretty bad time." The League of Nations, the conference at Evian have accomplished nothing except to say, "Let George do it." Should the Jews then be taken to task, if they are endeavoring to rouse the lethargic conscience of the democratic peoples? Should the Burgenland Jews, practically thrown into the sea by their Nazi invaders, have been left to drown because helping them to settle somewhere else would imply interfering with the affairs of another country? Should the thousands of Jews in Germany, snatched out of bed early in the morning and packed into boxcars like cattle for deportation, have been allowed to perish simply because existing conditions in every other

country are such as to render immigration inadvisable?

The Jews, I feel certain, would be the first to help refugees of other peoples as they have done in the past. Many of the German refugees are not Jews, and a number of them owe their rescue to Jewish benefactors.² The story should be known; but, alas, even editors are not acquainted with facts that are touching as well as hard. One-third of all the German refugees are Christians; and the Jews, it has been brought out recently in an official report, have saved them from the direst consequences.

If the Gypsies were treated as brutally as are the Jews, I should have been glad to join an organization for the purpose of relieving their condition. When the Armenians were harassed by the Turks, many Jews were participating in the various measures undertaken then to aid the Armenians.

Now as to the influence brought to bear on American public opinion in connection with Palestine, the circumstances are such that public opinion is aroused quite spontaneously when Great Britain has actually broken the terms of the Mandate to which the United States was a party.

President Roosevelt, many senators, governors, and other high officials of the Government have made public statements with reference to the timorous policy of Great Britain in Palestine, not because pressure has been brought to bear upon them, but because they feel the egregious injustice, yea iniquity, which the *volte face* attitude of England

2) A numbr of first-hand narratives may be cited in corroboration of this statement, books like *I Married A German*, by Madeleine Kent, and *The Woman Who Lived in Hitler's House*, by Pauline Kohler.

Rumblings Against Refugees

spells, realizing that if this little haven in the Near East which was fought for by the Jews, which was promised them at least as a *sort* of home, and which was built up at great sacrifice on the part of millions of Jews throughout the world — if this little nook should be closed to the most unfortunate of unfortunates, then they might as well commit suicide.

It is because these public men know that the Jewish problem is everybody's problem, and that in truly democratic countries, there is no Jewish problem. If the Jews will not care about the Jews, and no one else certainly will, then what is going to happen to the hectored and hounded refugees in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and other countries?

There may be some sporadic cases where a refugee has been employed in preference to a native American, but there may be special reasons in such cases, *e. g.*, unusual skill. In England, it has been established that scores of German refugees have created employment for thousands of Englishmen; and it stands to reason that in this country too, men with ideas can expand certain fields in unimagined directions.

There is much else that can be said on this score on behalf of the downtrodden but highly intelligent, enterprising, and energetic refugees, in answer to your grievances, but this must suffice for the present.

Assuring you of my continued appreciation of your championship of liberty, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

A. A. ROBACK

JEWISH MORALE — DOES IT EXIST?

Two small nations have, since the outbreak of the World War II, earned the admiration of the world, including perhaps their foes — the Finns, in their stubborn resistance against the Russian aggressor, and the Greeks, in chasing the Italian invaders far beyond their borders and, through Albania, almost back into Italy.

The Finns have since lost a good deal of their prestige because their rulers have seen fit to collaborate with Nazi Germany against the now victimized Russians, but the fact of Finnish bravery and morale cannot be denied. The Greeks, carrying on their ancient tradition, displayed a breath-taking heroism, which will be written into history in blazing characters.

Perhaps even greater glory surrounds the guerilla warfare of the Serbian Chetniks, who, with their country vanquished by a ruthless conqueror, and their army officially *bors de combat*, have been courting death and perhaps worse, but continue to harass the enemy even in the year 1942, when their small force must have dwindled to little more than a band.

The Greeks, even now, after their numbers have been decimated, and starvation, disease, and maltreatment continue to steadily reduce the population, are bent upon fighting their oppressors, with considerable effectiveness, in partisan warfare.

Jewish Morale — Does It Exist?

A Brain-Racking Question

The idea that has been haunting me is this: Why is it that the Greeks are willing to make the supreme sacrifice for their sovereignty instead of remaining secure and intact by ceding a few privileges to a foreign power, while the Jews are not willing to preserve their cultural independence at the cost of a few hardships to themselves as individuals?

It probably will be pointed out that the Jews in Palestine are of a different mettle, and that they resist any incursions on their rights because of a feeling that they are in their own land, while the Jews everywhere else cannot help realizing that their culture is not that of the general population of which they are a part.

Perhaps there is a modicum of truth in this argument, but it does not completely satisfy me. I am afraid that even in Palestine there are assimilationist elements currying favor with the British, and prior to the Arab disturbances, even with their Semitic competitors. On the other hand, in the diaspora, there are to be found here and there small groups of staunch defenders of Jewish traditional culture who remind us of the Greeks, and who are less yielding than their brethren in more prosperous and civilized parts of the world.

It will be noted that in Germany, the Nazis for the most part found the Jews like clay in the hands of the potter. In Czechoslovakia, and even in Austria, there were heard protests, even if it meant the concentration camp or something worse for the spirited Jews.

Polish Jews — A Hard Nut

It is in Poland, however, that the gabardined and earlocked Jews have been the source of astonishment and even perplexity to the ferocious conquerors, who cannot understand how these "lousy Ostjuden" could act like self-

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respecting men. There is the episode of the aged Jew who, unable to carry the load imposed upon him by a brutal Nazi, tottered and was ordered to lie down flat, a signal that he was about to be shot. His young son pleaded pitifully with the inhuman wretch, and finally asked to be shot instead. When he learned that his father was not to be saved, he begged to be shot too. "That's very nice of you," growled the beast, "your request will be granted." And so, in filial embrace, both father and son met the same fate, exemplifying the eternal force in the phrase "*Hane'ehovim v'ba-n'imim, b'kbayom u'v'mosom lo nifrodu*" (the beloved and sweetly-disposed, inseparable through life and death).

In my student days I once came across a passage in Ferdinand Lassalle's diary which surprised me. The brilliant political strategist was only a lad of sixteen then, and he was registering his resentment against Jewish spinelessness in times of persecution. "Why don't they fight back?" was his complaint. "They couldn't be any worse off." He may have had in mind the attitude of Samson at the time he was shorn of his glory. "*Tomous Nafshi im Plishtim.*"¹ If one is ready to commit suicide, he might as well attempt to pull his tormentor along.

A Voice 100 Years Ago

In May, 1840, as a 16-year-old student of the Commercial College, Lassalle, who later became the redoubted leader of the labor movement in Germany — much more honored than Karl Marx — wrote in his diary:

"In the evening, the lady director's brother brought the report on the Jews in Damascus.

1) "Let me perish together with the Philistines."

Jewish Morale — Does It Exist?

"Oh how terrible it is to read! The hair stands on end, and all our emotions turn to fury. A people that endures this is terrible. True, awfully true, is the following statement of the reporter: 'The Jews of this city suffer atrocities as they can only be endured by this Pariah on earth, without a terrible reaction.'

"So the Christians marvel at our inert blood in that we cannot bring ourselves to die in battle rather than be killed by torture. Was the oppression against which the Swiss rose in arms any greater? . . .

"Cowardly nation! You don't deserve a better lot. The trampled worm turns, but you only bow down all the more humbly. You know not how to die, destroy. You don't know what righteous vengeance means. You don't know enough to be buried along with your foes and lacerate them in their last throes. You have become a slave."

What Would Lassalle Do?

Thus wrote the man who later engaged Bismarck in a political campaign of some proportion — a hundred! years ago. What an ironic commentary on history! What would Lassalle have said today, not about the downtrodden and ignorant Jews of *Damascus*, but about the industrial magnates and privy councillors of twentieth-century German Jewry? Better, what would Ferdinand Lassalle, the irrepressible *Kaempfer*, himself have done had he lived today?

We may think this standpoint altogether too exaggerated, but in a recent novel by Max Berges, *Cold Pogrom*, published in an English translation by the Jewish Publication Society, there is to be found the same disgust with the abject passive endurance of his own German co-religionists. The author believes they should have set up and mounted

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barricades in the streets of Berlin and other cities, dying like heroes instead of just allowing themselves to be dragged to the concentration camps, or shooting themselves in a fit of despondency.

Is There No Collective Initiative?

Again and again, I ask myself: If the Greeks, who cannot afford to lose too much of their man-power are ready to give up their lives in order to guard a principle, why will not more Jews devote a little of their time and energy and money to fortify their ground against the spectre of dissolution? Why are they so prone to change their name in order to gain a better clientèle, to abandon their lore and old friends so that they might improve their lot economically and pseudo-socially?

I have almost arrived at the conclusion that the Jews have *individual but no collective initiative*. Except, as I hear, in Palestine, they are not prepared to give up anything like comforts for the future of their people. There are thousands of courageous Jews, but their acts of valor are not on behalf of their own. If they will die for Italy, France, or Greece, why will they not forego a bit of questionable prestige in order to live as Jews?

Well, the question is posed, but I am afraid that the only answer to be suggested will be the same old *Terutz* of the *Mab-Nishtanah*, i.e., "We were (or are) slaves".

LITTLE JEW, WHAT NOW?

With the re-opening of college, I think students will be in a quandary as to what to take up. The freshman, perhaps, will not be so much concerned as the sophomore and junior. The latter have already most likely had an inkling of what to expect before their application was even accepted. Undoubtedly a number of applicants who were disappointed because they were not admitted to some famous university attributed the circumstance to their race.

We must be careful about taking stock of every hard-luck story a would-be student tells in order to win sympathy. I have known of at least several Jewish youths who simply could not make the grade but attributed their rejection to their Jewishness. Gullible and doting parents bewail the lot of their son or daughter, but in reality they should deplore their own indulgence. Deserving Jewish students do find their way into college; undeserving students should not be there.

Only a couple of weeks ago, a college-trained mother and her daughter, a sophomore at a Boston college, implored me to do something so that the girl could transfer to an institution of the first rank. Neither of them had I seen before, yet the zeal of the young student was so genuine, that I called up some influential friends in the University to ask their advice in the matter. I felt the girl should have been admitted in the first place, not only on the strength

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of her studiousness, but by virtue of her outside activities, which always count with entrance committees.

Of course it would have been impolitic to do anything direct about it. No personal intervention should be so much as thought of in this connection; and it was gratifying to hear from both the mother and the young lady that their dearest wish had been fulfilled. The transfer was accomplished with no loss in standing for the student.

This goes to show that we are living in a fair country after all, and the attitude toward students in any American college (save for exceptional private animosities) has been and will remain unexceptionable. For that matter, even anti-Semitic professors in Czarist Russia could not altogether crush their academic ideals, and in many instances awarded medals to Jewish students.

It is while at college that the Jewish student begins to notice certain discriminations, such as having often to forego Gentile fraternity life (a boon rather than a disadvantage) and to occupy particular dormitories, although here too there are various reasons that might be assigned for the regulations, written or unwritten.

The real restriction occurs later when the Jewish graduate wants to enter a medical school. He then discovers that all the available places have been taken, and he begins to feel like a refugee seeking a haven. A few years ago, Germany, Austria, and Italy solved the problem for many a prospective Jewish physician. With the "Aryanization" of these countries, the situation became desperate for hundreds, if not for thousands, of Jewish students.

Well, one might say indifferently, "Suppose Monroe or Sidney does not go into medicine, what then? Surely there is no calamity in that event. We have too many professionals as it is, and many of them are starving."

For my part, this is a tenable position — if only the

Little Jew, What Now?

selection could be made on true merit and promise, but it may be that some Monroe who is admitted turns out to be a skinning specialist (instead of a skin specialist), while a Moses who may have been an ornament to the profession is turned away "for want of facilities."

My own view is that the high-grade college should be a place only for those who have the inclination and the capacity to acquire primarily an academic education. Rich men's sons and daughters who believe that study is only secondary to social life should discover their mistake before entering; for such collegians are a nuisance not only to everyone else but to themselves; and they are bound to lower the standards of the particular institution.

For students of a lower calibre and a less industrious nature, other colleges, not of the first rank, should be good enough.

We must remember the phrase *Noblesse oblige* in this connection. The Jewish student who is irresponsible creates the impression that ten or a score are at fault, or that the whole Jewish student body is undesirable.

WHEN DID JEWISH PHILOSOPHY BECOME EXTINCT?¹

To some it may be questionable whether there ever has been a philosophy or mode of thought which could be said to show a Jewish slant.² Among British writers, Buckle, Carlyle, and Goldwin Smith may be cited as belittling Jewish intellectual achievement on the ground that the Jews in antiquity were not a reflective people, as were the Greeks and Romans. Yet beginning with Philo in the first century, the foundations were laid for a distinct Jewish trend in that he was referred to as "the Jew" (Philo Judæus). To all intents and purposes he was a Greek philosopher, but it cannot be gainsaid that there were many Jewish elements in his neo-Platonic doctrines.

Jewish Scholasticism in Middle Ages

In subsequent centuries, when Plato and Aristotle alone shone as the beacon lights in the rather obscure philosophical firmament of the Middle Ages, Jewish philosophy was given an individual place by historians in the tryptych of scholasticism. Although it had not become known until recently that Avicbron was no other than the young He-

1) Read before the Seventh International Congress of Philosophy at Oxford, 1930.

2) This problem has been discussed extensively in *Jewish Influences in Modern Thought*, Chapter XXIII.

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brew poet, Ibn Gabirol, the long line of Jewish thinkers beginning with Saadia Gaon in the tenth century and culminating in Spinoza was deemed worthy of comparison with men like Averröes, Alfarabi, and Avicenna on the one hand, and pillars like St. Augustine, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus on the other. Here were thinkers of the scope of Ibn-Gabirol, Bakhya Ibn Pakuda, Maimonides, Gersonides, and Crescas.

It was a religious philosophy for the most part, except perhaps in the case of Avicenna, *i.e.*, Ibn-Gabirol, who did not adduce any Biblical or Rabbinical lore in support of his arguments. But the Christian philosophers in France, Germany, Italy, and England were no less religious in their conceptions.

Jewish philosophy constituted a third panel in the scholastic structure, although it was produced on the same soil as the Arab philosophy and practically all of it in the same language. Could we talk perhaps of a Jewish school and an Arab school of philosophy? Even this distinction cannot hold, for there was more in common between Averröes and Maimonides than between the rationalistic Maimonides and the voluntaristic Ibn-Gabirol, so far as doctrine goes. Yet it is conceded on all sides that there was a Jewish philosophy in the Middle Ages.

With the inauguration of the modern period, Jewish philosophy seems to have disappeared. The Jews still remain. They are active in intellectual pursuits, although the Holy Inquisition and the cruel greed of kings, together with the malice of ignorant mobs incited by demagogues, had conspired to stifle the spirit of research in them and to prevent intellectual contact with other peoples.³

3) Gersonides in the preface to his *Battles of the Lord* complains that the sufferings of the Jews are so intense that they render meditation impossible.

Spinoza not the Last Jewish Philosopher

When Spinoza's name became associated with the system which he had crystallized, it was the philosophy of a Jew which was condemned at the time. A couple of centuries later he was honoured as a Dutch philosopher. I have heard the point made in all seriousness that since the Jews had excommunicated Spinoza, they could not now claim him as one of their own. But the Jewish sources in Spinoza's teachings are so patent and have been discussed by so many authorities that a compendium of Jewish philosophy could not but properly include the doctrines of the Amsterdam lens-grinder.

Spinoza, it would seem, officially marks the absolute boundary of Jewish philosophy, although Spinoza was by no means the last Jewish philosopher. In the eighteenth century two of the acutest contemporaries of Kant, according to his own testimony, were Solomon Maimon and Moses Mendelssohn. While it is true that both were influenced by German thought and for the most part wrote in German, it ought not to be overlooked that both derived their first principles from Maimonides and other Jewish scholastics; furthermore, that the mother tongue of both Maimon and Mendelssohn was really what corresponds to-day to Yiddish. The Polish Jew, Maimon, in whose semi-Humeian system there is at present being evinced a revived interest, could not write but a faulty German; hence to include him under the rubric of German philosophers is more than somewhat artificial. Similarly, although Mendelssohn imbibed most of his ideas from Leibniz, through Wolff, he has added a distinct Jewish coloring to those ideas.

Perhaps these two offer no difficulties to one who wishes to see a continuous existence of Jewish philosophy. It is rather the thought of the recent past and contemporary times which presents real problems in this regard; for with the exception

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of Hermann Cohen, founder of the Marburg School, whose affiliation with Jewish thought was apparent, there is not, so far as I know, a single one of the most outstanding Jewish philosophers in Germany, France, and England who has drawn on Jewish sources or who is conscious of a Jewish current in his philosophy. To all appearances, their tradition is German, French, or British, and the environment alone in which they moved and produced is reflected in their works. I have put the question before several of the most eminent Jewish philosophers in France, and that is what they gave me to understand; *viz.*, that there is nothing in common between them and the Jewish philosophers in Germany and in Britain, or as some have expressed it: civilization is one, and the elements to be found in philosophy are universal.

Is Philosophy International or Universal?

In one sense it cannot be denied that there is in our present age an international give-and-take in the intellectual world. Even in the early Renaissance it was not easy to decide which was originally Jewish and which was Moorish and which Patristic; so interwoven was the fabric, *e. g.*, Thomas Aquinas employed arguments to prove the existence of God which could be found in Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* and Bakhya's *Duties of the Heart*, and Nicolaus Cusanus compensated for his animosity toward the Jewish people by citing some of their philosophical authorities.

If culture is but one, and the whole history of philosophy mirrors but the particular ages in which different doctrines have cropped up, then *cadit quaestio*, then we cannot in strictness speak of a French, German, English, or Italian philosophy. In point of fact, however, there are

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to be found an increasing number of specific national histories of philosophy, which would argue for the existence of national trends, traditions, or methods in philosophy, in spite of the different schools that each country may harbor.

Racial Types of Thought

Buckle long ago tried to differentiate between the Scotch, the English, and the German mind on the basis of environmental conditions. Without subscribing to Buckle's underlying materialistic principles, I think we do generally recognize that the British are empirical, that the German type of philosophy is transcendental, that the French lean to intuitionism and stress affectivism in all their thought. When we strike deviations, it would not be amiss to look into the racial antecedents of the *propositi*, as well as the personal influence under which they had come. Thus the Swedish blood in Fichte might explain the residue in his philosophy which was not German. Similarly the Slav in Nietzsche will always reveal itself in the midst of the German environment. Even the British neo-Hegelians could not be mistaken for German neo-Hegelians; for the empirical note is not wanting in their system.

We have hitherto taken the expedient course of classifying thinkers first after particular schools, and then according to countries. Are philosophers then to be labelled with a political tag or are they rather to be understood in the light of psychobiological antecedents? Perhaps the third possibility will be invoked, *viz.*, that they are all members of one family which is altogether too much interrelated to permit of separate grouping. This latter view is often resorted to by a diplomatic minority in order to avoid disputes of a delicate nature. It might appear to some as if this were a question of wresting a philosopher from this or

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that country and annexing him to another. I remember reading once in a Lithuanian journal an article which attempted on the flimsiest grounds to make out of Kant a Lithuanian philosopher. In a popular book on philosophers, which enjoyed a phenomenal success, the same philosopher is referred to as a German-Scotch philosopher. If the descent from but one recent foreign ancestor entitles him and his nationality to be considered when mention is made of his illustrious progeny, then how much more justified is one in attaching the Jewish attribute to those philosophers who have sprung from a long line of Jewish ancestors, whose pedigree may be traced centuries back, and whose racial purity can scarcely be questioned? Neither France nor Germany will lose its many distinguished philosophers of this race, if it is borne in mind that they are Jewish as well as French or German, but the psychology of philosophical origins and methods might thereby be greatly furthered.

Discrimination in Philosophical Circles

In certain quarters, though not from the loftiest motives, a distinction has been drawn between Jewish and non-Jewish philosophers in contemporary Germany. It has been contended, *e.g.*, without any attempt at documentation, that Jews could not understand Kant, a statement which in the light of the annals of philosophy is nothing short of absurd. We must be careful to steer clear of partisan evaluations. Even Hegel's statement that only a Jew could have evolved a system of pantheism such as Spinoza's is a dangerous generalization, but it is altogether a different story when we *describe* merely the mode of approach, the *tour d'esprit*, which is superadded as a figuration on the tradition of the environmental ground.

All this may sound like begging the question, especially

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if the philosophers in question themselves are not aware of any specific quality which one can call Jewish. It may be said at the outset that without analysis one cannot hope to discover these qualities; and therefore the unawareness of the subjects is no argument against their existence.⁴ I think it is pretty well agreed that there are national characteristics in language, religion, folklore, and art. Philosophy and science should not be excluded from this purview. Much as we believe that truth is but one, there are many lines of this truth; and if we make a study of the great formulations in science on the principle of the nationality of their originators, we shall be forced to the conclusion that in spite of the coöperation of many minds in different parts of the world, the establishment of a definite principle, law or theory reflects a national form of thinking. Not a few were the predecessors and independent co-workers of Darwin, but the line of attack was essentially English. Similarly at least three scientists tackled the problem of the conservation of energy, but Robert Mayer gave the most characteristic and ultimate solution. We are not dealing with the value of the discoveries and inventions, nor with the number made by Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Germans, but rather with the type and method followed.

Subconscious Processes at Work in Philosopher

It is to be understood that in all the intellectual operations involved, there are both conscious and subconscious moments brought into play. Even if we do not accept all the implications of psychoanalysis, we cannot help realizing the importance of the non-conscious elements in everyday life. Consciously we may be influenced wholly by the en-

4) An experimental approach to the subject is reported in "Race and Mode of Expression", by A. A. Roback, in *Character and Personality*, 1935, vol. IV, pp. 54-60.

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vironment, but who save the crassest mechanists and environmentalists would deny that we are born with hereditary dispositions to select our modes of approach to problems? What is behind these dispositions? Certainly not the soil on which the individual is accidentally brought into the world, but rather the line of ancestry with its characteristic mental set or *Einstellung*. Let us take the case of a Jew born in Poland, pursuing his studies in Germany and then settling in England. His environment is English. He is in accord with or opposes this or that British trend. At the same time he brings to bear upon his contribution the fruit of his German training, but withal there is a racial direction in his tactics and methods that is neither Polish, nor German, nor English; and the more he seeks to overcome the racial *élan*, the more it sinks into the subconscious—the more operative it is apt to become at a crucial moment. It is a study of these lapses, so to speak, which are overdetermined by the conscious effort of the thinker to throw off the racial burden and assimilate himself to the environment, that would reveal the Jewish elements in any philosopher.

Jung's doctrine of archetypes is perhaps an exaggeration in this connection, when he tells us that he is able on the basis of one dream, related by a patient, to ascertain the patient's race, but we may readily believe that in the rearing of a philosophic conception which especially savors of some originality, the racial antecedents will not be without their influence. Certainly this theory cannot be considered as acceptable until empirical evidence is introduced, but that is just the purport of this essay to propose that a series of such analyses be undertaken with a view to establishing both what common elements there might be among Jewish philosophers of contemporary times and what deviations from their environmental traditions they present in their conception, expression, mode of elaboration, etc.

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Turning once more to the question posed at the opening, *viz.*, "When has Jewish philosophy become extinct?" we must first of all establish our criterion of what constitutes Jewish philosophy. If the *sine qua non* is its production on Jewish territory, then, alas, there never has been any Jewish philosophy, as a systematic discipline. Is the prime condition, then, that it be produced in a language peculiar to the Jews? If so, then again the existence of a Jewish philosophy must be denied, for with few exceptions Jewish philosophers wrote in non-Jewish languages. Philo produced his works in Greek. Maimonides and Avicbron employed as their medium Arabic. Spinoza, with one minor exception, made Latin his vehicle of expression, while Maimon and Mendelssohn operated with German concepts.

More Jewish Philosophers To-Day than Ever

It may be conceded perhaps that there are Jewish philosophers but no Jewish philosophy. This concession will, however, have to be extended so as to include other peoples; for the diversity of opinions and schools holds for the ganders as it does for the geese. Furthermore, it must be recognized that *there are not only many more eminent Jewish philosophers in the present age than at any other time in history, but that their proportion to eminent non-Jewish philosophers is phenomenal.* Now if the individuals are not to be identified as members of the people from which they have sprung — not politically, but biologically — then this phenomenon must of necessity be explained as a mere chance happening, which would constitute a philosophical *reductio ad absurdum*. When the branches of a tree produce fruit in luxuriance, how can one help gathering that the trunk has not lost its vitality, even though the boughs overhang neighboring orchards and are in-

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tertwined with local trees and branches from which they receive their fructification?

Chief Jewish Philosophers in France Questioned

Among the foremost French philosophers of the present century, Bergson, Meyerson, Lévy-Bruhl, and Brunschvicg have expressed themselves rather negatively on this point. In an interview with the late Herman Bernstein, Bergson, who perhaps had reason to change his mind before his death, uttered the following:

“I do not much believe in permanent special qualities of races. Nature is very often nothing else than habit and education. There are racial differences between the white, yellow, and black races, but there is no difference in the white races. People can adopt the qualities, the defects, and the habits of the people among whom they live. In Europe we see that the difference in races is nothing but habit, education, and the degree of living together.

“I doubt whether the Jews have any special hereditary defects or qualities, considering that their blood has been so mixed — very much more mixed than is believed. Whole tribes in Russia were converted to Judaism.”

Émile Meyerson, in addition to denials, in several conversations in Paris, that his philosophy reveals any Jewish roots, wrote me, some months before his death:

“Une seule observation cependant: Keeling a eu pleinement raison de me considérer comme un représentant de la pensée française. J’ai insisté moi-même

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à plusieurs reprises (cf., par exemple, *ES*, p. 501) sur le fait que je me rattache avant tout et essentiellement à une tradition qui n'a existé qu'en France. Si cette situation ne vous a pas frappé c'est que, sans doute, vous vous êtes intéressé bien moins à l'évolution de la pensée philosophique en France que dans certains autres pays. Mais, bien entendu, j'ai fait mon possible pour profiter aussi de ce qui a été produit ailleurs. Cependant j'avoue que l'intérêt du *diagnostique* que vous tirez du fait de la disposition typographique m'échappe; il faudrait alors conclure que j'appartiens à la lignée anglaise, car en Allemagne cette mise à part des notes est aussi peu usitée qu'en France."

The last reference was in connection with my observation that the practice of relegating notes to the back of the book in the form of an appendix was foreign to French writers.

Lévy-Bruhl, in a letter dated July 2, 1930, wrote:

"In my 'humble' opinion the philosophy, or science, I am working at is neither French, nor Jewish, but simply human; at least, I suppose it to be so. I don't deny that many influences, of which I am more or less aware, may have contributed to make my books and my mind what they are; certainly a good many did so. But I am the last man to discriminate them; I suppose it is a task much better done from without than from within.

"On this point I perfectly agree with you; that Meyerson is a great and delightful man."

Léon Brunschvicg in a letter of July 19, 1930, replying

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to the same question as to whether he felt any Jewish influences in his philosophy, begins by saying:

“Quant à la question que vous me posez, je n’aurai pas l’impertinence de prendre mon propre cas comme particulièrement typique. C’est chez Spinoza que j’aperçois le reponse claire.”

He does make a case for Spinoza who, according to him, owes his particular philosophical *élan* to his Jewish origin. Paradoxically enough Brunschvicg sets him up as the pure Occidental because he freed himself from Oriental influences, while his great contemporary, Pascal, took the opposite course, reaching the Orient via Christian apologetics. It is curious, too, that Brunschvicg himself may be regarded as the foremost authority on (not Spinoza but) Pascal, whose works he edited anew.

By way of supplement, let me add there is slowly developing both in Hebrew, the traditional language of the Jewish people, and in Yiddish, the language of its vast majority (over ten millions), a philosophical literature, which, although mainly monographic and of a sociological and historiosophic nature, is not without its merit. Krochmal, Moses Hess, Ahad Ha-Am, Martin Buber, Simon Bernfeld, and many others have concerned themselves with the problem of the Jew’s place in the world. What impedes the growth of a Jewish metaphysic in Hebrew or Yiddish is the comparatively small appeal of either of these languages for the intellectual world, so that a Jewish philosopher will naturally prefer to speak in a tongue like English, French, or German in order to gain a wide hearing. This is a handicap, of course, peculiar to all small nationalities, but in the case of the Jews the handicap is double, for they have no government of their own and as yet only the beginning of a university.

Conclusion

In conclusion, then, we must gather from the foregoing that the answer to the question "When Did Jewish Philosophy Become Extinct?" is "Never," that the systems evolved by Jewish philosophers, wherever they be, whether in Australia or in America, are suffused with Jewish thought and feeling, although the *environmental tradition* figures more prominently in the *conscious* elaboration of the ideas.

There is hardly a country in Europe, in which Jewish thinkers do not play a dominant part in philosophical quarters. This is principally the case in the more cultured states (Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, England, Italy, Austria, and Hungary). We find attractions and repulsions, explicable for the most part on the basis of racial affinities. To be sure, there are notable exceptions, but the exceptions can be understood for the most part in the light of circumstances, personal reactions, and influences.

Without going into an analysis of the chief characteristics of Jewish philosophy, it is sufficient to point out that positivism, although not materialism, a social objective or impulse, a reaction against mysticism, in its strict connotation, an analytic bent which pursues a rather psychological procedure even in dealing with metaphysical concepts, emphasis on values but not in absolutistic or dogmatic settings — that these traits seem to be most pronounced in the works of Jewish philosophers, and that although Bergson and Husserl appear to be at antipodal points with relation to each other, they may still be said to partake of the traits thus mentioned and to avoid the extreme positions of their non-Jewish colleagues sponsoring similar views.

In other words, a history of Jewish philosophy will have to include not only the philosophers of the Middle Ages, but the thinkers "of Jewish extraction" to this very day.

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Subsequent Discussion

In the course of the discussion which followed, the late Professor Gebhardt, probably the foremost Spinoza scholar of his day, maintained that the prime essential for a national philosophy is its continuity. Since there could be no talk of continuity in the material and problems dealt with by Jewish philosophers in different countries, we should be obliged to deny the existence of a Jewish philosophy in more modern times, although in the Middle Ages, such continuity could be detected. At this juncture the present writer, taking advantage of the fact that Dr. Gebhardt was a professor in a Dutch university, asked the latter whether he thought there was any continuity in Dutch philosophy, so that Spinoza might be spoken of, as he commonly has been, as a Dutch philosopher. Professor Gebhardt conceded that there was no continuity in Dutch philosophy, and then proceeded to expatiate on the difference between the Ashkenazic Jews and the Sephardim, maintaining that there was not one Jewish people but two; and if we speak of a Jewish philosophy, it is incumbent on us to state which Jewish race we have in mind. To this I retorted that it was not at all necessary to introduce anthropological speculations and mooted points which are irrelevant in the present inquiry. We should do better in orienting ourselves according to common knowledge; and it is an indisputable fact that a Jew, whether an Ashkenazi or a Sephardi, is singled out as a Jew, regardless of anthropological theories, especially if he be a banker or broker (*muffled laughter*). Why then are we not justified in steering clear of anthropological conjectures when the Jew happens to be not a banker but a philosopher?

Part II
BOOKS

MOSES AND MONOTHEISM

Freud's New Book

At last the book, *Moses and Monotheism*, which had been discussed so much in the press long before it was published, is out. It was good of Professor Freud to see to it, in accordance with his promise, that I receive an advance copy, and I read the volume from cover to cover, which occurs very seldom.

Of course the subject, Moses and Monotheism, is intriguing, particularly to one who had pored over books on higher criticism and theology in his early teens. Not jazz but exegesis took my attention then; and I still have Bishop Lowth, Wellhausen, Bishop Colenso, Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, and others in my library since those adolescent days.

Like a Detective Story

Freud's book, however, means more than a commentary; for here the founder of psychoanalysis reveals himself in the rôle of historian, or rather historiographer; but his method reminds us of a master detective reconstructing the original circumstances of a *cause célèbre*, or of a district attorney presenting the detective's facts in legal form to the court.

Deliberately and with studied precision, the author takes us back to the Egypt of 3,000 years ago, intertwining history

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with argument, so that, as in a mystery novel, after we thought the problem had been solved, we discover that the last stop was only an incident, a link in the chain which must still be forged.

Whatever induced the physician and psychoanalyst to concern himself in his advanced years with Moses and Monotheism? Offhand, it is possible to draw on our past experience and say that as an individual begins to age he becomes preoccupied with the afterworld. On the strength of his general attitude toward religion, we cannot apply this observation to the grand old man of mental science. That he believes the sphere of religion, as a social and cultural phenomenon, to be of paramount importance is evident enough, but that his thoughts should wander back to the Nile, to the Pharaohs, and to happenings which can never be verified may require some explanation, as we shall presently discover.

Meanwhile, let us see what the main thesis is in Freud's book — main thesis, because it is a theme with subsidiary themes.

Moses, the Egyptian

It is most curious, perhaps from a psychoanalytic angle even significant, that the Jew who has affected twentieth-century civilization more than any other man should wish to de-Judaize the greatest Jew in history and make him out to be a distinguished Egyptian — perhaps a prince, a priest, or governor — who put himself at the head of the despised and enslaved Israelites, and steered their destiny, giving them the religion which a former enlightened Pharaoh had imposed upon his subjects, a strict monotheism, a religion that did not appeal to the polytheistic Egyptians, as is evidenced by the fact that shortly after his seventeen-year reign came to a close, in 1358 B.C., every attempt was made

by the vindictive priests of Ammon (the national Egyptian God) to eradicate all traces of the heretic King's influence, even his identity, so that only recently did the very name of this monotheistic ruler, Ikhnaton, come to light; and in one of his unearthed hymns, there is to be found the affirmation which we shall recognize as the basis of the first injunction of the Decalogue, "O, Thou only God, there is no other God than Thou."

Signs of Conflict in Freud

As may be imagined, it was no easy matter for Freud, a Jew, to relinquish the greatest name in Jewish civilization, the lawgiver who is responsible for Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism; and he makes his state of conflict unmistakably plain. The book exhibits, in fact, the signs of a Cæsarian birth. The first two chapters were published several years ago in the psychoanalytic journal, *Imago*. The final part, which was written before March 1938, in Vienna, because of its disparaging remarks on religion, which he treats as a neurosis, could hardly be published while the author was residing in a Catholic country. Hence Freud did not expect it to see the light of day in his lifetime.

Ironically enough, it was Hitler's invasion of Austria and Freud's subsequent departure for England, which made possible the publication of this sensational (not in the derogatory sense) book — a book which contains, true enough, a good deal of archaeology, history, sociology, and psychoanalysis, but more than all this, it affords a glimpse into Freud's own state of mind. His apologetic attitude, on the one hand, evidenced again and again in the various prefaces throughout the book, and his severe censure of the totalitarian governments (including USSR), on the other, presents him in the rôle of a modern Prometheus, but human, all too human, in the pathetic admission of his decline.

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That his physical powers will not permit him to produce the amount of creative work he was accustomed to in his prime goes without saying, but from his latest achievement, one might not gather that his intellectual functions are impaired.

Freud was aware that he would antagonize a large number of reviewers. When he wrote that he feared the reactions to his book would not be favorable, I replied under date of March 23, 1939, in connection with this apprehension:

It made me all the more curious to know on what sources you based this conclusion (*i.e.*, the Egyptian origin of Moses), but I feel that you must have some ground for your assertions. I am not sure whether by the word "*Berichterstattung*" you mean "press reports" or "reviews". Undoubtedly the reports will be garbled, but as to the reviewing, probably you can be relied on to have treated the subject in your usually lucid manner. I am often asked by students who wish a very simple exposition of psychoanalysis to recommend something for preliminary reading. Invariably I tell them to begin with your own books; for I find that all your exponents are more complicated than you are. It is very unusual for the original pioneer to be more accessible than the popularizers, but in your case this is so. At least that is my opinion.

That the anticipation of Freud was correct is borne out by the fact that even before the book could be read, some rabbis, on the basis of reports in the general press, have begun to belabor the man who revolutionized psychology. One rabbinical commentator and editorial writer made a casual remark to the effect that Freud "about whose men-

tality opinions seem to differ," etc. This gentleman need have no misgivings on this score; and in order to disabuse his mind, let me quote a passage from the book to show Freud's critical attitude toward himself, which becomes apparent whenever he makes an assertion in conflict with the universally acknowledged facts.

The more significant the possibilities thus discerned, the more cautious is one about exposing them to the critical attack of the outside world without any secure foundation — like an iron monument with feet of clay. No probability, however seductive, can protect us from error; even if all parts of a problem seem to fit together like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, one has to remember that the probable need not necessarily be the truth, and the truth not always probable. And, lastly, it is not attractive to be classed with the scholastics and Talmudists who are satisfied to exercise their ingenuity, unconcerned how far removed their conclusions may be from the truth.

In no other book does Freud evince such scruples, such self-consciousness. Naturally, when a man rounding out his life-work, at the venerable age of 83, must bring himself to declare that Moses was an Egyptian, that monotheism was an Egyptian doctrine, that circumcision was originally an Egyptian rite, that the Levites were Moses' own men whom he had brought along from Egypt into the wilderness (it is not quite clear, but I take it that according to Freud they were Egyptians and not Israelites), that, furthermore, the stiff-necked Jews killed Moses in the wilderness, that the Jews, with an admixture of other related tribes, were introduced to the religion of the national and bloodthirsty Jehovah two generations later by a Midianite Moses — in

other words, when the whole story in the Bible is turned topsy-turvy in less than 200 pages, we do not wonder that the iconoclast, even if he happens to be Sigmund Freud, would feel a bit chary, but in weaving his exotic pattern, he makes sure that there are no loose threads; and if one of the threads seems to be lost in the woof, it is certain to turn up elsewhere.

Let not the reader gain the impression that I am accepting all of Freud's conclusions. I don't believe that the author himself would claim for his views the degree of certainty which he attaches to his general doctrine of psychoanalysis, but the reader who is familiar with the heterodox theories of modern science will be apt to fall under the hypnotic spell of Freud's extraordinary interpretative power, the insinuating character of his exposition.

What Divides History from Revelation?

The reaction to Freud's *Moses and Monotheism*, will be fourfold against the four characters of the Haggada. The cynical smart Aleck will dismiss it as "tommyrot". The moron will of course not have the occasion to react, for he will not know of the book. The simpleton, in his bewilderment, will say, "What's all this about?" Finally the scientist will suspend judgment until he has read the volume — and one might add, a good many volumes on that subject, to boot.

If you believe that the Bible is a revelation, there is no room for argument. Then, of course, Moses cannot be an Egyptian, nor the Law of Moses a cult of Egyptian origin. The moment, however, we begin to doubt the authenticity of any incident related in the Bible, no matter how insignificant, then the Old Testament in its entirety becomes vulnerable. The great Frenchman, Ernest Renan, pene-

Moses and Monotheism

tratingly brought out this point in his *Souvenirs d'Enfance et de la Jeunesse*, when he told of giving up the priesthood just before he was ordained because he discovered discrepancies in the Bible.

I can well imagine how difficult it is for the orthodox Jew to so much as consider the hypotheses which Freud advanced relative to Moses and Monotheism. When I was a sophomore at McGill University, our newly-appointed professor of French was a free-thinking Parisian, who once dropped a casual remark about the story of creation. A devout Catholic student indignantly asked how such an utterance could be made when the Bible said distinctly that the world was created in six days, upon which the professor and at least one of the students merely smiled.

Enlightenment Not a Lightning Flash

The deep-rootedness of our prejudices may best be illustrated by the story told about the Jew who reprimanded a co-religionist for going about with his head uncovered. The latter was an observant Jew, but slightly liberal, and found no reason for keeping his hat glued to his head, protesting that there was no Biblical injunction against bareheadedness.

"O, yes," heatedly countered the ultra-orthodox Jew, "there certainly is."

"Well, then let's have the passage," challenged the other. A Bible was secured; for it was in those days when Jewish homes still harbored a Bible somewhere in their household economy, and triumphantly the zealot pointed to the phrase "*Vayelekh Avrom*," which means "And Abraham went."

As his interlocutor looked and shrugged his shoulders in puzzlement, as if to say, "What does that prove?" our logician impatiently shouted, "Can't you read, you idiot, 'And Abraham *went*!' Now do you suppose a man like Abraham would walk about bareheaded?"

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I suspect that many of our arguments are circular after this fashion, although not so glaringly fallacious. It takes maturity, learning, and a relatively impartial mind to read a book like Freud's latest production and not be disturbed. I well remember how, in my freshman year at college, an article by Johns Hopkins's famous Assyriologist, Paul Haupt, fell into my hands. The assertions made therein with regard to the Biblical accounts and characters were so *outré* that I thought Haupt sat down one fine day and jotted down a number of statements in contradiction with the Scriptures, just to shock the world; and I imagine that many readers of Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* will feel the same about his purpose.

An Analogy Worth Considering

I am not pleading Freud's cause, but merely asking that he be given a square deal. We must remember that, if we accept the Bible as a conglomeration of history and legend, and not as a sacred work, it is the business of the scholar to disentangle the two elements, and that the fact that thousands of millions have believed the Bible to be inspired and, therefore, flawless, could not be a cogent argument for us. Let us but reflect how Russian and German history is being rewritten in order to extol the present rulers to the skies and make demi-gods out of them. Suppose we lived today without the facilities of international communication and checking up, and the decreed histories were the only documents extant upon which were grafted popular legends and traditions for a period of three thousand years, should the world then not feel grateful to some archaeologist who undertook to puncture the official stories?

In common with all my people, I admire the figure of Moses as a superman. I have never forgiven Goethe, another superman, for belittling Moses, nor could I under-

stand the reason for his attitude. Michelangelo, on the other hand, rose in my estimation because of his conception of Moses. For all that, I am not going to shed tears over the transfer of Moses to the Egyptian people, even if the fact were fully established. After all, we have so many great men to our credit that we can afford to be charitable to a nation which is known for its Pharaohs, sphinx, pyramids, and mummies, but despite its remarkable civilization at the dawn of history is somewhat deficient as regards the hall of fame.

It is somewhat against the grain to have to give up the man about whom it was written, "There never arose another prophet . . ." something like the case of a son discovering that his celebrated father was only a foster-parent, yet not so awkward a situation as when a father finds out that his promising son is related to him only through his wife.

The average reader of Freud's book will naturally wish to know why the author has drawn on certain authorities rather than on others. He may be assured, then, that Breasted (and it is an encouraging sign to see Freud turning to an American for his information) was one of the foremost Egyptologists of the past generation, and Ernst Sellin, who contends that the original Moses was killed in the desert and that a second Moses, a Midianite, initiated the tribes of Israel into the rites of a Jehovah cult, at Meribat-Qadesh — this Sellin was not only a distinguished professor at the University of Berlin, but an international authority on the Old Testament and author of many books displaying unusual scholarship. Eduard Meyer too, whom Freud quotes often, was an archæologist of world renown. But it must be stated that both Sellin and Meyer were not too sympathetic to the ancient Hebrew civilization, and Sellin's theory of Moses' assassination is based on astonishingly flimsy evidence, *viz.*, a cryptic verse in *Hosea*.

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Duality in Jewish History

Freud's contribution consists not so much in courageously sponsoring startling conclusions which these men were somewhat hesitant to draw, but in supplying the psychoanalytic setting for a national historiography which helps to clear up many perplexities, *e.g.*, why the Jews relapsed so often into idolatry, or the reason for feuds between the different Jewish tribes or kingdoms, or the matter of suppression in connection with important events.

The principle of duality which runs through the system of psychoanalysis is a godsend in this connection — two Moseses, two religions (monotheism pure and simple, and Jahvehism), two constituents of Israel (the original tribes and the Levites, followers of the Egyptian Moses), two accounts (the written and the traditional), two traditions (the manifest and the latent). The conflict in all these cases is interestingly brought out and shown to have its parallels in individual development.

It is to be feared that the more original and solid parts of the book will be occluded from view because of the striking theses with reference to the Egyptian origin of Moses and monotheism, which, after all, others have hinted at before Freud.

WHAT FREUD HAS MISSED

Freud appears to be well up on psychoanalysis, but is a bit shaky on his Jewish lore. When he informed me that he was putting the finishing touches on his Moses book, I suggested that he look into the vast body of literature on Moses in Jewish tradition. Evidently he did not have the time or perhaps the inclination to heed the suggestion, and that is a pity. There is a very significant passage in the book relative to the inheritance of memory-traces of what our ancestors experienced "quite independently of direct communication and of the influence of education by example" — a bold view which not only brings him closer to his former adjutant, Jung, but which is in contravention of the findings of orthodox biology. In spite of the distortions which such a tradition in the form of unlearned memories exhibits, it occasionally, according to Freud, discloses circumstances which neither the written accounts nor the transmitted tradition reveals.

Jewish Tradition Ignored

In that case, why not reckon with the many hundreds of stories woven around the figure of Moses through this archaic storehouse? For Moses is the most beloved character in Jewish history. Even such a phrase as *Moishe Rabeynu's Kieble* (lady bug)) points to the affection which the name

has held for every Jew. To this day, many of the ghetto Jews believe in the existence of a kingdom of *Moshe Rabeynu's Yiddelekh* isolated from the rest of the world by the fiery Sambattyon, which continually hurls rocks, except on the Sabbath, the day of rest. Moses, it will be noted too, is the most common Jewish name, even in the guise of Morton, Murray, Melville, Montgomery, and Montmorency.

Any orthodox old Jewess in Vienna could have told Freud scores of legends about Moses which she and her mother read in the Yiddish *Seyfer Hayosbor* or in the *Gedulas Moishe* (Ascension of Moses). There are whole treatises devoted to the legendary tradition which grew up around the "godly man" Moses — *Divre Hayamim shel Moshe Rabeynu alav hasbolem*, *P'tiras Moshe* (in Yiddish I have the faint recollection of reading *Neshikas Moishe i. e.*, Kiss of Moses, the belief being that Moses, loath to die and pleading with God to let him live, gave up his soul as a result of a divine kiss — the *motif*, I fancy, is at the bottom of the Judas Iscariot episode in the New Testament); and the already mentioned *Gedulas Moishe* (Hebrew and Yiddish) as well as a *Midrash Rabah* (*D'varim*).

Freud and Moses

Had Freud taken the trouble to look into a few of these Jewish legends, he might have been able to exploit some of the material for his own use. Only a couple of illustrations will suffice. On pages 126-128 we read a condensed summary of Freud's reconstruction of early social life — a lurid picture of incest and cannibalism, which was revolting even to a veteran psychologist like the late William McDougall. Here we read: "An echo of the expulsion of the eldest son, as well as of the favored position of the youngest, seems to linger in many myths and fairy tales."

What Freud Has Missed

The tale of Joseph and his brethren somewhere occurs to Freud, but he appears to be unaware that Reuben was guilty of profaning the bed of his father by whom he was scathingly denounced. Biblical commentators have made much of this occurrence, which we find turning up again in Eugene O'Neill's American setting, *Desire Under the Elms*.

Misinterpretations

Similarly the legend of Moses and the crown is related by Freud, but he misses the sequel, namely that after Pharaoh was warned by Balaam and other soothsayers that the infant was bound to destroy the ruler, and was persuaded to submit the child to an intelligence test by placing before it some jewels and live coals, tiny Moses first began to reach for the gems but an angel pushed his hand to the coals. His speech defect was attributed to his hastily withdrawing his hand and putting it into his mouth, thus burning his tongue. Certainly Freud could have turned this legend to good account, but what does he do? He thinks that *k'vad peh* (slow of speech) refers to Moses' inability to speak the language of the Jews, since he was himself an Egyptian functionary, forgetting that the reference was intended as an excuse to God for not approaching Pharaoh, thus proving just the opposite. What an opportunity was missed here for imputing oral eroticism to Moses!

I could never see why the phrase *k'vad peh* should offer so much trouble in exegesis. It always seemed to me that Moses was orally inhibited because as a good executive, a man of action, a warrior, and legislator, he was not an orator, and his words were few. Hence he was anxious to intrust his brother, Aaron, with the delicate diplomatic mission of persuading Pharaoh to release the Jews.

Freud would have been interested in the legends which

seek to explain the presence of Moses in Midian as a herdsman after he was King in Ethiopia — for a period of forty years; in the account of his chivalry and imprisonment by Jethro, whose daughter kept Moses alive in prison ten years by clandestinely purveying food to him, as well as in the general interpretation that the Ethiopian woman he married was in reality no Ethiopian but a surpassing beauty of his own people, because *Kushit* and *Y'fat Mareb* (beauty) have the same numerical value; and the reason that she was referred to as "Kushit" was to ward off the evil eye (a euphemism, therefore). He might have looked into two doctoral dissertations, one in French, by Meyer Abraham (*Légendes juives apocryphes sur la vie de Moïse*), and the other by A. Rosmarin (*Moses im Lichte der Agada*), not to speak of several earlier works on the legendary tradition around the figure of Moses.

Freud and Ahad Ha-Am

It is regrettable that Freud did not acquaint himself with the essay on Moses by Ahad Ha-Am in the third volume of his *Al Parashat D'rakhim*. Perhaps he would then have picked up the thread at another point and recognized Moses for what he had become rather than for what he may have been.

That Sellin, Freud's authority, read Ahad Ha-Am's fine disquisition (published first in 1904, and in his collected essays a year before Sellin's book on Moses appeared) will be clear to anyone who takes the trouble to compare the two works; for such a parallel in style and content can scarcely be a matter of chance.

Like Ahad Ha-Am, Sellin asks a series of questions regarding the status of the man, and, relying on other investigators, or rather interpreters, comes to a negative conclusion in every instance.

What Freud Has Missed

He begins with the question: Was he a national founder or political leader? And answers, "no". Was he a magician, or miracle worker? Again Sellin, rightly, interposes a denial. Then surely Moses might have been a priest. Sellin, shrewdly playing off one Biblical tradition against another, makes short shrift of this view, even questioning Moses' Levitic descent.

Moses might have been the founder of a religion. No, that would contradict the fact that the Israelites already had some notion of Jehovah. Nor was Moses, in Sellin's eyes, a rhapsodical prophet (*Ekstatiker*) nor even a seer, since the Jehovistic tradition does not mention him as such.

What then was the vocation of Moses, according to Sellin? Moses was nothing but an inspired herdsman (Sellin: *Moses und seine Bedeutung*, etc., p. 129).

Ahad Ha-Am, too, asked the selfsame questions in different words. "Was Moses a military man?" "No." Was he a statesman? No, because he could not face Pharaoh and left the transactions to Aaron.

Curiously enough, Ahad Ha-Am would not concede that Moses was a legislator, because lawgivers consider only their own generation, while Moses had set up laws for a time that had not yet come and for a country that had not yet been acquired. Just why this sort of legislation did not entitle Moses to rank as a legislator, the foremost Hebrew essayist did not explain. (*Al Parashat D'rakbim*, p. 212.)

But in Ahad Ha-Am's portrait, the figure of Moses is at least not reduced to that of a mere herdsman, albeit inspired; for he fastens his gaze upon the last verse in the Bible as the legend which describes Moses most adequately, namely, "There never arose another prophet among Israel like Moses." That is the clue which Sellin either missed or rejected, and as Freud leaned heavily on Sellin, this support was overlooked. Sellin, later, retracted much of his hypothesis.

Psychorama

Freud's Symptomatic Lapses

More astonishing is the failure of Freud to cite the literature relevant to the subject which his own disciples have provided. It is true he gives space to Otto Rank's study on *Myths about the Birth of the Hero*, but he completely ignores Reik's work on *Ritual*, which contains his psychoanalysis of the *Shofar*, and a lengthy section entitled "The Moses of Michelangelo and the Events on Sinai".

Worse still, he has forgotten the thoughtful essay on dreams and myths, as well as the excellent psychoanalytic sketch of Ikhnaton, the forerunner of Moses, by the gifted Karl Abraham, former president of the International Psychoanalytic Association, who died at the age of 48. In this little biography, which was published in Freud's own *Imago*, in 1912, we not only obtain a vivid portrayal of the great Egyptian Pharaoh who, while still a sapling of 17, began to reform radically the religious, moral, and social life of his people, and even its art, but can discern more than an adumbration of Freud's main thesis. It was Sir Flinders Petrie, Britain's foremost Egyptologist, who regarded this Egyptian Alexander the Great in the realm of mind as the prototype of Moses. In Freud's book, Petrie's name is conspicuously absent.

Identification Mechanism as Clue

Freud, who devotes several pages to this original character, King Ikhnaton — really the first genius in the intellectual sphere known to history, and the figure who occupies so much space in Thomas Mann's *Joseph and His Brethren* — could not have deliberately ignored Abraham's long article; for certainly he would have realized that someone might take him to task for it. It was decidedly an oversight, but how explain this amnesia on the part of the father

What Freud Has Missed

of psychoanalysis? The word "father" here might give the clue to some reader who will feel like crying out "Eureka"! We may even discover why Freud has turned his attention to the great legislator of antiquity, divesting him of his Jewish origin, and depriving the Jews of their greatest leader.

Is it at all possible that there is a process of identification here between the man who imposed upon the world a new religious outlook and him who brought to the world a new mental outlook through the medium of the unconscious, which, thanks to his own Levites (disciples), has become more or less of a religion? Would not the psychology of the conscious, the tangible, the things heard, seen, and felt represent the age of idolatry and polytheism, as compared with the invisible God of monotheism symbolized by the inaccessible unconscious?

Freud — Centre of Psychoanalytic Drama

Furthermore, has Freud not been in the position of the potent primitive father who rules with an iron hand (his own conception of prehistoric social organization) but who is finally killed by his rebellious sons, in this case his disciples, intellectual offspring (Jung, Adler, Stekel, Rank), each of whom in turn starts a defection against the master? And we are not yet at the end of the analogy. Freud's relations with Jung, his first-born, we might say, are, true to psychoanalytic doctrine, definitely hostile (not unilaterally, by the way), while Rank, also a metaphorical parricide, nevertheless because he was the most recent of Freud's favorites (the baby in the family) is still fondly quoted. Abraham's contribution to the selfsame subject is symptomatically forgotten.

Perhaps someone will at this point turn to me and ex-

claim: "What are you trying to do anyway, psychoanalyzing Sigmund Freud?" Without committing myself, I happen to know that Sigmund Freud is sport enough to take a bit of his own medicine, if this should have been my purpose.¹

The Question

The question uppermost in the mind of most readers, I know full well, is just this; "What do you think of Freud's deduction that Moses was an Egyptian, and that monotheism was of Egyptian origin?"

My answer is that Freud has performed a service in that he has, at least, turned an accepted certainty into a moot point. All I can say is that some probability attaches to the Egyptian descent of Moses. It is somewhat more than possible although not yet likely. That the monotheism of the Jews did not originate with the Jews is more than likely. Probably even King Ikhnaton, the precursor of Moses in this sphere, received his cue from his mother, who was the daughter of an Asiatic priest of Syrian and, therefore, Semitic origin.

But — here is the crux of the situation — whether the man Moses was an Egyptian or not, Moses the great historical figure, Moses the ideal, was decidedly Jewish, just as Jesus was a Jewish ideal, on a less extensive basis of course; and even if both Moses and Jesus had been killed by Jews (certainly Jesus was not), they were still Jewish ideals. The fact obtrudes itself emphatically (and remains) that what King Ikhnaton could not accomplish with the civilized Egyptians, Moses did achieve with the Jews. He must have found fruitful soil. Freud is a trifle severe on the Jews when he writes: "While the tame Egyptians waited until fate had removed the sacred person of their Pharaoh, the savage Se-

1) In an article in the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* of Jan. 1941, entitled "The Man Moses' and the Man Freud," Hanns Sachs apparently supports the identification theory just propounded. This is especially interesting, as he was not aware of my original review, which appeared early in 1939.

What Freud Has Missed

mites took their destiny into their own hands and did away with their tyrant." If Moses was murdered by an assassin representing a fractious group, it does not mean that the Jews killed him (a sample of a fallacy altogether too current in anti-Semitic camps).

The Jews at that time and later could not have been such a conglomerate horde of pariahs as Freud makes them out to be, if, with all their aberrations from monotheism and regressions to heathenism, they still had representatives in every generation who preached and fought for spiritual values at the risk of death. If the Jews had not chosen to abide by the Law of Moses, nothing in the world would have caused them lastingly to cherish that code.

Hen and Egg Riddle Again

It is to be feared that Freud is putting the cart before the horse when he asserts that, "The man Moses created their character by giving to them a religion which heightened their self-confidence to such a degree that they believed themselves to be superior to all other peoples" (page 194). My own belief is that the Jews were constitutionally adapted to receive the new religion, and were just as instrumental in creating the great figure of Moses — indeed far more so — than he was in shaping the destiny of this people. On more than one occasion, I have argued for a law of national selection, which, like that of natural selection, accounts for the accretion of certain customs, folkways, the body of folklore, etc., peculiar to a given nation. The Jews have taken from their neighbors what culturally suited them best. They rejected what was not in keeping with their own particular genius. If Moses was born an Egyptian, there must have been a kinship between him and the Jews whom he delivered from slavery; and monotheism as a religion must have had some appeal, perhaps because of an

earlier tradition, to these slaves of Pharaoh. Freud is surely aware of the adage, "You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear" (in Yiddish *fun a kbazzers ek kon men kein sbtreiml nit makbn*).

Conclusion

I cannot conclude this lengthy review of *Moses and Monotheism* without paying tribute to Freud's architectonic style of thinking. Architecture, I understand, was one of his chief interests in his younger days. Most authors write down their views. He builds up his thesis like an edifice. There are the pillars and the façade. Here the nave, the arch, the transept, a little further the relief, and so on. Freud's structure reminds one of a cathedral. It possesses the attribute of magnificence, which grows on one as it is beheld again and again.

To the uninitiated, Freud's book on Moses will sound most extravagant. A few readings of the most unacceptable passages will soften the reader's attitude.

Twenty years ago, writing on Freud in the *Menorah Journal*, I had occasion to say:

Freud, on the other hand, is primarily an explorer. Betaking himself to unknown regions, he meandered for some time alone and unobserved, but finally succeeded in unveiling before us a world not hitherto dreamt of. Thence he was hailed as a discoverer of new horizons, and the extent of his popularity soon exceeded all precedents in the annals of psychology.

The distinctive feature of Freud's writings is not, as with several other psychologists, their logical development. Forceful utterances, compelling statements are beyond his reach. Yet he rivets your

What Freud Has Missed

attention and fascinates by his suggestive ideas and stimulating illustrations. Freud's attitude is that of the dreamer who is struck by an idea, which subsequently develops into a grand vision. Should Israel Zangwill ever choose to expand his *Dreamers of the Ghetto*, the portrayal of Freud cannot but find a place in it. Serene and contemplative, yet bursting with ardor, Freud may be pictured as continually drifting about in search of a haven.

I penned the above in my twenties; and now in full maturity after two decades of diversified experience, as I read these youthful lines again, I should not be inclined to alter a word, (even if I scarcely imagined that Zangwill would be survived by Freud). I cannot characterize Sigmund Freud's scientific personality better, or with greater precision, than I did then in 1919; and the characterization applies to Freud's latest book as it did to his earlier epoch-making works.

* * *

NOTE: In the footnote on page 148 the reference to the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* should read *Psychoanalytic Review*.

THE HUBBUB AROUND FREUD

If all the reviews written thus far on Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* were laid end to end they would make three miles of newspaper columns. It may be only a wild guess, but I have read a good many reviews of Freud's latest book, after mine was written; and I am satisfied with my own. It was interesting to see how many newspaper writers, who are not acquainted with Freud's teachings and who are even less familiar with Biblical criticism, were ready to make out of Freud a dotard who is not only ignorant of the subject but almost devoid of sense.

Freud had anticipated the storm but he writes that none of these attacks has gotten under his skin. It seemed to me at the time that my own review did not please him either, although thus far, I think it was the most sympathetic. Only later did I discover that during this period, Freud was in the throes of a severe attack, which may have explained his unwonted brevity.

An Important Issue

There is one type of criticism which I have both seen in print and heard expressed verbally, and because it involves an important issue, far more concrete than the remote speculation about Moses' origin, I want to deal with it here, even

The Hubbub Around Freud

though very cursorily. The objection is, to wit, that Freud had no business, at this time of Jewish suffering, to belittle the great contribution of the Jews to religion; and that in denying the Jewish birth of Moses, he was playing into the hands of the Nazis.

As I have intimated, Freud needs no defenders. At 82, he can stand on his own feet, or better perhaps, on his own brains. It is the principle behind the cavil which needs examining, regardless of whether Freud or anyone else is the victim.

To begin with, the statement that Moses was an Egyptian was made before the Nazis came into power. A revered Jewish thinker, none other than Ahad Ha-Am, had already created a furor a number of years ago by his assertion that Moses never existed; and no one who knows anything about Hebrew literature would question the loyalty or sincerity of Ahad Ha-Am, even if we should regard his opinion as ill-advised.

Science and Nationalism

The question before us is this: Must a scientist time his conclusions so as not to disturb the equilibrium of his co-religionists or co-nationals? Does patriotism come before the goal of science? My answer is an emphatic *no*. Naturally, scientists should be guarded about the *validity* of their conclusions and not blurt out an emotional reaction under the guise of science. It is in that respect that Charles Darwin manifested his greatness. In any case, however, the truth, as we see it, is above any class or race considerations. Else we become cousins to the Nazis, who in their perversity subordinate all science to their particular race doctrine.

Let us take a few instances to expose the working of the ordinary mind, even of certain Jewish college graduates.

10.7.1939

10 HAREFIELD GARDENS
LONDON, N.W.

PROF SIGM FREUD

Dear Mr. Rosbach

I have just finished reading your book "The Psychology of the Unconscious". It is a masterpiece of scholarship and insight. I have been thinking of you very much since I read it. I am sure that it will be a great contribution to the understanding of the human mind.

Yours sincerely,
Sigmund Freud

Figure 1

One of SIGMUND FRUD's last letters (reduced)

Figure 1

Facsimile of Freud's letter (reduced to one-half the original size), one of his last, containing his reaction to the present review of his *Moses and Monotheism*. In it he thanks the author for the "in many respects interesting review, which in oral discourse, could form the point of departure for lengthy discussions." Referring to his critics in the United States, he writes further: "Unfriendly American reviews will hardly affect my position."

The passages, in the original German, alluding to the book and my review, read:

Dank für Ihr in vielfacher Hinsicht interessanter Review, die bei mündlicher Behandlung der Ausgang längerer Auseinandersetzungen werden könnte. . . . Unfreundliche amerikanische Kritiken werden meine Einstellung kaum beeinflussen.

The ravages of his malignant disease, aggravated by his ordeal at the hands of the Nazis, are evident in the painful effort involved in the formation of characters, the uneven pressure, and the extreme determination necessary to direct the (now almost drawing) process, which, in previous letters, seemed so fluent. A close friend of Freud, who was with him in London at the time the letter was written, reveals the fact that the aged psychoanalyst was undergoing excruciating radium treatments almost every day. The remark at the close of the letter, "My physical condition is not very satisfactory", is, under the circumstances, an understatement which displays great fortitude.

Psychorama

Taking Our Own Medicine

Columbus has been claimed in turn by Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Suppose an Italian historian proclaimed his evidence to the effect that Columbus was a Spaniard, or even a Jew, as has been, indeed, conceded to be the case. Would not, by that token, the Italians have a perfect right to display their indignation and regard the scholar as a semi-traitor? And if a German musician were to point out the bombastic and ego-conscious nature of Wagner's music, would he not, on the same principle, be guilty of treason and merit the opprobrium of his countrymen?

"Ah," I can hear someone say, "but that's different." Yes, the difference consists in whose ox is gored, or what foot the shoe is on.

Comparing the English

Let us get this straight. An Englishman would not be likely to make a fuss over the fact that someone in the British Isles is trying to prove the non-English descent of, let us say, William Shakespeare or William Byrd. He might laugh up his sleeve, but he would not become resentful. The reason is that the English have no national inferiority complex. They constantly hear it said that if it were not for the Scotch, the Welsh, and the Irish in their midst, the country would just be swamped in mediocrity; and the curious part is that they never make any attempt to impugn this rather emphatic intimation, just as a millionaire will not be especially agitated because someone questions the extent of his wealth. It is the parvenu, the middle-class person, who may become incensed at any insinuation of comparative poverty.

The Jews need never worry about the possibility of losing prestige over the annexation of some one great man

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to another people. Instead of basking in the glory of three thousand years ago, we should do much better to acquaint ourselves with the towering Jews of yesteryear and today, and their achievements. Every age has its Moses, but "distance lends enchantment to the view". The same super-adorers of Moses, so zealous lest a Freud or anyone else wrest him from our hall of fame, might have been of the very recalcitrant stuff which caused Moses to throw up his hands in despair at the stiff-necked and fractious mob.

As to Monotheism, while I believe the Jews should receive the credit for clinging to the idea and spreading it to the far corners of the earth, it is, to put it mildly, naïve for anyone to suppose that the conception originated with Moses or, indeed, any one person, Jew or Egyptian. It is a mental process of slow growth and probably of a collective rather than individual character.

A Postscript on the Freud Controversy

The severe criticism of Freud still continues in the press, but what is disheartening is the complete unfairness of the controversy. In many instances, it is apparent that critics have not taken the pains to read the book, *Moses and Monotheism*. Still fewer journalists have understood Freud's position.

A Boston weekly takes me to task editorially for coming to the defense of the psychoanalyst in "his clumsy attack against Moses". I should like to make a few important points clear in this connection, and I shall state them concisely.

(1) Freud set forth his theory on the Egyptian origin of Moses *several years ago*. The recent book includes the two chapters already published as articles.

(2) Freud never attacked the person of Moses. Is it an

attack on Columbus to assert that he was not an Italian but a Spaniard, a Portuguese, or a Jew?

(3) Freud has not claimed certainty for his theory. He has merely presented the situation in a light which may serve to revise the accepted version. His book deals not so much with Moses, as with the factors which enter into historical tradition and which must be taken cognizance of especially in our own time. If anyone wishes to believe that the Biblical and post-Biblical account of Moses is true to the letter, he is of course entitled to his belief.

(4) I have never subscribed to Freud's view of Moses. What I maintained was that there was a possibility of Freud's conception being correct; that we should take his arguments into consideration. My own criticism of Freud was, by no means, mild.

(5) The ridiculing of Freud's hypothesis on the ground that the founder of psychoanalysis knows neither Hebrew nor Egyptian, and is therefore incompetent to form an opinion as to the origin of Moses is, from a scientific point of view, preposterous. His supposition is not based on philological grounds alone.

One might as well say a century from now that a statement to the effect that Stalin was a Georgian amounts to a dastardly attack on the man; and besides, the originator of such a statement happens to know neither the Georgian nor the Russian language. And for goodness' sake, let no one of my readers get the idea that I am comparing Stalin to Moses.

Strong Case Against Freud

Dr. Trude Weiss Rosmarin's *The Hebrew Moses* is a vigorous critique of Freud's latest book. It is scholarly, pungent and, in the main, to the point, but she too makes much of Freud's ignorance of Hebrew and Egyptian antiquities.

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Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* would still be a valuable treatise, even if his popularly interesting contention regarding the Egyptian origin of Moses and of Monotheism should prove erroneous. Even if Freud took her advice and retracted his statements (he has been constantly changing his views progressively) the standpoint would be essentially the same. She strongly condemns Freud's implication that the Jews killed Jesus. I don't think it will make much difference to the Jews whether Freud had made this *faux pas* or not. The Christians who were intent upon saddling the Jews with all sorts of blood and poison crimes, even to the extent of causing the first and the present world wars, will not care a hoot whether the Romans or the Jews had a greater share in the killing.

After all, no one bothers to excoriate or to punish the Italians physically because their ancestors *actually* crucified Jesus. Any decent and intelligent person will know enough to abide by the alleged last prayerful wish of him whom they are trying to avenge. "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." When the *Gepu* liquidates all who oppose Stalin, when Hitler purges the Reich of every freedom-loving individual, and the axe severs the head of everybody suspected of disloyalty to him (the World's Public Enemy No. 1-A), when Franco causes the execution of thousands of republicans each week, when myriads of innocent civilians are mowed down by the death-raining bombs of a ruthless invader, can the hostility of the Jewish rulers two thousand years ago to a revolutionary whom they did not recognize as a God or Son of God, call forth any censure? Anyone who could bring himself to criticize, let alone attack, a Jew living today for some act which his ancestors possibly committed thousands of years ago, is either an imbecile or a hoodlum, or both.

Psychorama

Sad Postlude

A friend has just telephoned via long distance to tell me that he had picked up a London broadcast announcing the fact that Sigmund Freud was no more with us.

More than once did someone say to me, "Did you know that Dr. Freud . . ." and while I was listening, with bated breath, for the rest of the sentence, it turned out that Freud, according to the newspapers, was ill, had undergone another operation, or suffered a heart attack. This time the one monosyllabic word "died" brought forth a gasp.

You expect a letter from the man any day. You write a postscript on the Freud controversy a few days before. You send him a book. You receive indirect regards from someone who had just seen him as his car was stopping in the traffic and thought of him as "still a fine old fellow" — and a little word "died" tells you that an eternity is between you, that no longer will you enjoy deciphering his severe Teutonic script, that no longer will you read anything new from his steeled, if not steel, pen, that no longer will he be able to defend himself against the avalanche of criticism because he dared to speak his mind — in short, that a man who has influenced his times culturally more than any other of his century, is now a name in history. Pious Jews may see retribution in his demise, because of his de-Judaizing of Moses, but the cause of his death is a much simpler matter.

Sigmund Freud had passed his eighty-third year, and could not have lived much longer; what with his years of palate trouble — a form of cancer — his humiliating experiences when the Nazis occupied Austria, his exile, all this in the midst of a multitude of activities as head of a world movement. Yet so rare are men of his calibre, that you invent, in this case, all sorts of possibilities, such as the longevity of his mother, for a century of life. It seems as if his

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indomitable will had curbed the growth of the cancer cells, but in the last months, the malignancy took a sudden spurt.

He was skeptical when I suggested the celebration of 50 years of psychoanalysis. It was a written smile, if one could conceive it. I asked him once to write his autobiography, since his little sketch of the history of psychoanalysis is altogether too scant for the purpose; but he was intent on producing something constructive. His last book was not likely to add much to his fame.¹ His reputation will rest on his earlier works in which he has revolutionized psychology. I shall not repeat here my estimate of his contribution, since I have done this in several books, particularly in *Jewish Influence in Modern Thought*, which somewhat irked him, because he could not reconcile my criticism of his views with my rating of him as a genius. A genius he nevertheless was in the opinion of many of his opponents, notably the late William McDougall, foremost of the English-speaking psychologists.

Freud has left thousands of disciples — followers to whom his word is gospel. The tragedy is that he has not left a successor. His daughter, Anna, of course will carry on in a circumscribed field. It takes a man of undimmed vision, iron nerves, tenacity, and intrepid imagination to achieve what Freud has achieved. His lucid style, his Gaonic exposition, his *thoroughgoingness* — all combined in the same person — will not again be found for decades.

We are poignantly aware that a master has fallen who cannot be replaced. His glorious name will remain emblazoned on the escutcheon of civilization when his maligners and persecutors will be mentioned only in the histories as the unspeakable Nazis, the vandals of the twentieth century.

1) However, in his last letter to Dr. Hanns Sachs (March, 1939), Freud wrote, "The 'Moses' is not an unworthy leavetaking."

THE JEW IN THE LITERATURE OF ENGLAND

It is not often that the Jewish Publication Society brings out a volume by a non-Jew, the reason being probably that when a Gentile writes on Jewish matters, the book is either too academic or too journalistic,

Prof. M. F. Modder's *The Jew in the Literature of England* is neither the one, nor the other. It is scholarly and very comprehensive, and therefore a good choice, even though the subject has been handled several times before in slender books. The treatment, however, by Dr. Philipson and Dr. Calisch, had been more like extended addresses or book reviews, dealing with a limited number (no more than ten) of English novels and plays centering around Jewish-Gentile relations. Landa, in England, has specialized in the drama, but even he did not pretend to be exhaustive.

In Tradition of Scholarship

Modder, trained in modern research methods, has covered the field extensively, citing passages from essays, journals, short stories, letters, etc.; and he even reports conversations. His book of more than 400 pages provides the historical background and relationships for the literary expressions. It is this groundwork which makes the volume both important and instructive. In addition, there is considerable

The Jew in the Literature of England

filigree, which makes it attractive reading even if occasionally the style smacks of a doctorate dissertation with its stereotyped phraseology.

Perhaps the book would have become unwieldy, but one feels that there is not enough interpretation and evaluation. Thus Sheridan's anti-Jewish burlesque is glossed over as counterbalanced, according to the author, by another play which is more charitable to the Jews. It would be more to the purpose to point out that Sheridan was a buffoon and his farces were in keeping with his unpolished and vulgar personality, making capital out of distorted Jewish dialect stunts, mispronunciation, and foreign accent.

When he cites Froude on Carlyle as having "a true Teutonic aversion for that unfortunate race" because "he thought them lacking in humor — a fatal defect in his eyes — and maintained that they had contributed nothing, besides, to the wealth of mankind, being merely dealers in money, gold, jewels, or else old clothes, material and spiritual," he might have added that Carlyle, for all his attempts at humor, like *Sartor Resartus*, was merely a plodder without the least *esprit*. It was the humorlessness in himself that he projected on to the Jews — a case of the pot calling the kettle black.

Gaps in the Work

With all his mining, Dr. Modder has omitted a good deal of material which has not yet been exploited. I am referring to the early character sketches in which there are many allusions to Jews, and also to the literary journals. Richard Cumberland, about 150 years ago, prefaces a long letter in the *Observer*, which he edited, purportedly written by a Jew, Abraham Abrahams, with a short essay on the plight of the Jews, which begins as follows:

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"I remember to have read an account in a foreign gazette of a dreadful fire which broke out so suddenly in a house where a great many people were assembled, that five hundred perished miserably in the flames; the compiler of this account subjoins at the foot of the above melancholy article, that it is with satisfaction he can assure his readers, *all the above persons were Jews.*

"These poor people seem the butt, at which all sects and persuasions level their contempt. They are sojourners and aliens in every kingdom on earth, and yet few have the hospitality to give them a welcome. I do not know any good reason why these unhappy wanderers are so treated, for they do not intrude upon the laborer or manufacturer; they do not burden the state with their poor." (Vol. 2, No. XXXVIII.)

John Selden's Influence

What I should regard as a serious lacuna in Modder's excellent investigation is the omission of John Selden, younger contemporary of Francis Bacon, and equally wise; but while the latter was a rogue and cringing egoist, Selden was a champion of truth and justice. One has but to scan his *Table Talk*, let alone the scholarly works which he has left, to be convinced that Selden was one of the most enlightened men in Europe.

Selden, a great lawyer, a statesman, and a jurist was often dubbed abroad "the great dictator of learning of the English nation," and this dictator prized as his motto a Greek phrase which signifies "Above all things liberty". That this was not an idle *devise* with him may be gathered from the fact that he was ready to take up the cudgels on its behalf at the cost of his own freedom and even life. When his monumental *History of Tithes* appeared, he was summoned before King James to explain his attitude; for Selden

The Jew in the Literature of England

had the temerity to question the Divine Right of Kings. He made a skillful defense of his views, offering regrets but no retraction. The work was suppressed. For some months, Selden suffered incarceration in the Tower because of his opposition to some of the absurd Court laws.

Is not a man of such courage and erudition to be reckoned with when he has a good deal to say about the Jews? We must bear in mind particularly that hardly a voice was raised on their behalf at the time in England, where they were proscribed. Selden may not have seen a Jew, and yet in an age when Shakespeare presented to the world his unfair portrayal of a Jewish merchant, when Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* spoke of them "as a company of vagabonds", John Selden almost always brought out the rationality and equity of Jewish law and customs.

Considering that Selden flourished more than 300 years ago, when even the most learned were guilty of gross errors, so that a schoolboy of today sometimes has more accurate information about the Jews than the average encyclopedist of that time, we can only marvel at the sound judgment, the keen insight, and the superior mentality which gave rise to such personal expressions as we find on almost every other page of his *Table Talk*.

"Talk what you will of the Jews, that they are cursed, they thrive wherever they come; they are able to oblige the prince of their country by lending him money; none of them beg, they keep together, and for their being hated, my life for yours, Christians hate one another as much.

"We can best understand the meaning of salvation from the Jews, to whom the Savior was promised. They held that themselves should have the chief place of happiness in their other world; but the Gentiles who were good men should likewise have their portion of bliss there. Now by Christ the partition-wall is broken down, and the Gentiles

that believe in him are admitted to the same place of bliss with the Jews; and why then should not that portion of happiness still remain to them who do not believe in Christ, so they be morally good! This is a charitable opinion."

It is remarkable that, whenever Selden commented on the Jews, he would always hit the bull's eye. John Selden, living nearly 400 years ago, was far more modern than many an intellectual born in the twentieth century.

Professor Modder should have graced his study with excerpts from this remarkable man's works and a brief statement of Selden's influence.

Mixed Point of View

On the other hand, one may well question the wisdom of including Grace Aguilar, Israel Zangwill, Amy Levy, and Julia Frankau in this survey. After all, the purpose of this book is to trace the development of the attitude toward Jews in English literary circles. We are complicating the issue, and to some extent distorting the vision, by introducing the Jewish point of view. If the Jews drawn by authors of their own race enter the picture, then why not incorporate the reflections and depictions of Gilbert Frankau, Leonard Merrick, Arthur Wing Pinero, and Louis Golding, to mention only a few names of Jews whose works could very well have been drawn upon?

What is more, if the title, *The Jew in the Literature of England*, is to be literally considered as the scope of the volume, the portrayals of Jews in Yiddish literature, produced in England, might well have a place here, as well as the pamphlets written by Manasseh ben Israel. No, it seems to me it would have been wiser to reserve the Jewish authors for another occasion, when their outlook might be compared with that of their Gentile compatriots and colleagues.

JEWISH TOWNSMAN SOCIETIES

An important volume of 400 pages, in quarto, has just come off the press. The product of a WPA project and appearing under the auspices of the Yiddish Writers' Union, it represents years of solid work on the part of a score of Yiddish writers, some of them well known essayists, poets and novelists, headed by the editor, I. E. Rontch.

First of all a word about the meaning of *Landsmanshaft*. It is, of course, a German word which, if transliterated from the Yiddish, should be written *lantzmanshaft*. I have tried to find a suitable equivalent in English, but have struck a snag. At the outset, I thought of the phrase "Old Country Society". That, however, may be misunderstood as a society in the old country. "Old Home Society" is another rendering which occurs to us, but many would take it to mean a society connected with homes for the aged. "Home Society" is about as intelligible as the legend "home cooking" we find on the signs of beach "hot dog" places. The expression "townsman societies" is a bit awkward, yet it is not ambiguous.

In a sense the *Landsmanshaft* (I am adopting the phonetic spelling in spite of the spelling in the book) is a sort of alumni society of immigrant Jews with the village or townlet they came from as their alma mater. There is something warm about the word *Landsman*, and I don't know that any other people is so devoted to their native

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place as are the Jews. The large and impressive volume before us indicates this fact conclusively, and it should serve as a sourcebook for more than one doctoral dissertation in American sociology. The word *landsman* is often employed as the equivalent of "buddy" (Hey, landsman!) or fellow (*fun vanen is a landsman?*" i. e., where does a fellow hail from?)

The *Landsmanschaften Book* while not as solid and encyclopedic in its scope as the book on Vilna which appeared three years earlier under the editorship of Ephim Jeshurin, containing hundreds of contributions and illustrations (1000 pages) is more important from an American angle. It is chock-full of information and contains a compact purview of the huge chain of townsman societies in New York. The tables are valuable as raw material for the future historian of American Jewry.

Things We Never Knew

To begin with, how many of us would have imagined that there are no fewer than 2,500 Jewish townsman societies in New York? Why, Białystok alone is represented by 25 such societies. It would seem that there are more Białystok organizations in the American metropolis than in the mother city of Poland. Certainly if we included all the Białystok *landsmanschaften* in the United States, there could be no doubt about the predominance of the American societies of Białystok origin, both in number and (certainly) in influence. One who has seen Białystok will scarcely associate that city with the impressive Home for the Aged which the Białystok *landsleit* have erected on East Broadway.

Few people realize that many of these societies have to their credit publications of some merit — not only annuals

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or attractive souvenir pamphlets, but also periodicals. In this very volume under review, we find an anthology of excerpts from these publications. Occasionally their pages are graced by townsmen writers who "reminisce" in prose or poetry, thus celebrating the town of their birth and perpetuating it in Yiddish literature.

What surprised me is the large proportion of American-born members in these organizations. One would think that once the old guard dies out, those societies must of necessity collapse, but apparently there is fresh blood infused all the time and that, in spite of assimilationists, is a wholesome sign. There is after all a bond between the past and the present or the future.

What could be more natural for me than to turn to the notice on the society which grew out of the tiny border town where I spent in blissful infantility the first year of my life? About 25% of the membership is American-born. The society comprises the townsmen of two neighboring districts and a few non-townsmen. What induces these strangers to join a landsmanshaft which is alien to them might form the nucleus of another investigation, perhaps more psychological than sociological.

Curiosities

It may seem somewhat of a misnomer, but many of the landsmanshaften are labelled "Young Men's Associations". An acquaintance tells me that the "Sukhovolyer Young Men's Benevolent Association," to take one instance, includes quite a number of individuals who are in their seventies and eighties. They were young men, of course, when they founded that particular society. Nevertheless, the name is appropriate; for an organization is oriented toward the future.

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An interesting type of townsman society is the "Anshe" form, composed largely of the religious-minded poorer class. Usually their little synagogues will be found on the third or fourth story of a tenement house, a sign outside the window announcing the existence of this picayune congregation. I don't mean to say that occasionally the "anshe" (literally "people of") society does not blossom into an imposing congregation with a magnificent synagogue, but as a rule the "anshes" are backward as compared with the other societies.

Many a story can be told of the "anshe" contacts. The collegiate investigator may approach the sexton (*shames*) about the particulars, but in turn, he is asked to help form the religious quorum (*minyán*) so that there could be a public service. Or, again, he may have forgotten to don his hat when he left on his mission, in which case he is not admitted to the premises.

Complications and Solutions

The legal aspects which the Jewish arbitration board in New York must consider are diverse and, in some instances, amusing.

There is, e.g., the case of the lady who belonged to a Warsaw *landsmanshaft* of an orthodox hue and brought suit against the society for expelling her. It transpired that she had joined Father Divine's "heaven" and became an "angel", even parading the streets of Harlem in her new "celestialia". Naturally the Arbitration Board decided in favor of the Warsaw Society.

More pathetic is this fact. An amputated arm, as is well known in Jewish circles, must be buried just as if it were a body. When the owner of this arm died, his son wished the society to which his father belonged to provide

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a grave for the body, but the society maintained that the grave had already been provided, referring to the arm, and that two graves were not bargained for. This time the finding was in favor of the young man.

Valuable Contribution

It would be possible to cite stories and anecdotes galore in connection with this publication, but, after all, readers should see for themselves. There is a possibility that a part of the material will be translated into English. Certainly some of the chapters are contributions which would do credit to a WPA publication of general interest.

The list of societies and the data in them, the tables and illustrations are a valuable addition to this text.

Hundreds of towns in the USSR, and particularly in Poland, owe the existence of their institutions, schools, sanitariums, synagogues, etc., to the fact that their sons have organized in the United States for one purpose, among several, to keep the "home fires burning". Towns which have no representation in the United States and Canada, as well as in Central and South America, are like indigent old people who have no children to care for them.

South American Societies

We must not suppose that all the townsman societies are concentrated in the United States. Canada and Mexico should not be disregarded, but as one proceeds farther South, the number of such societies increases, and the North American situation is duplicated in Brazil and particularly Argentina.

An article in the Buenos Aires daily, *Di Presse*, on this topic by S. Freilij shows us once more that so far as the Jews are concerned, *Sadnah d'arah khad hu*. (Literally the Ara-

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maic proverb means "the stretch of the world is but one," but we may Anglicize it freely so as to read, "What a small world this is, after all!"). People come to the landsmanshaft gatherings not to listen to speeches or to music, not even for the purpose of partaking of the refreshments, but to obtain the latest news of the *shtedtel*; and the acquired *landsleit* are just as interested as the natives or children of the natives.

In Buenos Aires, a couple of the old country towns (in Bessarabia and the Ukraine) are dominant, so that each *landsman* of those two towns is especially proud. The credit unions are well protected because of this *esprit de Shtedtel*; for if a loan is not paid, the offender would be ostracized — no, the very knowledge of the default would be sufficient.

One anecdote is characteristic. At one of the community elections, in which many organizations of a social, religious, and political nature are represented, one man rose and asked whether Vengerov had representation on the list.

"Vengerov!" exclaimed the chairman, "What has Vengerov to do with the election today?"

"But hasn't it?" retorted the proud *landsman*. "Don't you know that a quarter of Buenos Aires Jewry consists of Vengerovers?" Vengerov, the original settlement, I suppose, is hardly more than a village, but in South America it seems to compete not only with the other Russian, Polish and Rumanian towns, but with Buenos Aires itself.

German Landsmannschaften

Within the last few years, a new set of "*Landsmannschaften*" (and now we must revert to the German spelling) has been forming. Announcements in *Aufbau* of gatherings of Breslauers, Leipzigers, or Frankfurters would indicate at

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first blush that the German refugees are organizing into townsman societies similar to those of the East European Jews, informal though these gatherings be at present.

A slight acquaintance, however, with the traits of German Jewry will be sufficient to make us suspend judgment in this regard. My own belief is that the German Jews, because of their assimilative tendency, will leave the past behind them. Their affiliations will be professional, religious, or social, but always with a view toward the future.

A Jew of Lithuanian provenance, even to the third generation, will be proudly conscious of the fact that his parents or grandparents came from Wilno or Białystok. German Jews, as a rule, do not allow this sentiment to enter into their life, partly at least, because they are more practical and partly because even Frankfurt, the former Jerusalem of Germany, is associated with German achievement rather than with Jewish life.

Part III

M E N

THE SINGER MYSTERY

For months I have been trying to do a bit of detective work, in connection with the death of the late Dr. Isidor Singer, but with practically no results. Detective stories almost invariably, I believe, in such cases concentrate on the question: Who perpetrated the crime? In this instance, it is not a matter of discovering the slayer; for evidently the blame must be attached exclusively to the Grim Reaper who, it must be said, was rather kind to wait until Dr. Singer was 79, before "inviting" him for a rendezvous.

What has puzzled me is not Dr. Singer's death, but the conspiracy of silence which greeted the departure of one of the most scholarly, dynamic, and versatile figures in American Jewry — the man who was responsible for the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and the *German Classics*, besides numerous other ventures of a literary nature.

Starting at the End

A few months ago I had asked a veritable human information bureau about Dr. Singer. He replied that so far as he knew, Dr. Singer was alive, although rarely seen. A week or two later, in May, an obituary article appeared on Dr. Singer in the *American Hebrew*, stating that the man had died in February. It is a long time, from February to May, to register the decease of the originator and managing editor of

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the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, considering the fact that he died in the heart of American Jewry (perhaps someone will read a double meaning into this innocent metaphor and receive a cue out of it) and communication facilities cannot be complained of.

I then wrote to Mr. Panzer, managing editor of the *American Hebrew*, who promised to obtain the information for me, but apparently he was unsuccessful. Other sources were just as unfruitful. My writing to the widow has brought forth no reply. I even inquired of the Bureau of Vital Statistics in New York about the circumstances of his interment. At Harper's, with which he was associated for many years, no one seemed to know anything about his last days. To this day, the mystery has not been cleared up.

Dr. Singer would often jocularly refer to his sobriquets. His *Jewish Encyclopedia* would be called the "Singer Machine". At the office of Funk and Wagnalls, where he would appear every three months to collect his royalties on the Encyclopedia, he would be dubbed the "*Jewish Quarterly*"; and now, grimly enough, this chapter is headed "The Singer Mystery". Perhaps some of my readers will be able to shed light on this peculiar situation. Even granted that the report — a mere rumor — of his family's alienation from Judaism should be borne out, I still can see no reason why his death should have been so completely ignored, as if under some form of censorship.

A Restless Soul

Isidor Singer was born in November, 1859, in Weisskirchen, Moravia. After obtaining his doctorate, he founded a literary weekly in Vienna, and shortly thereon, he left for Paris, where he worked in the press department of the French Foreign Office. He next founded a paper to combat

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Drumont's notorious *Libre Parole*. The restless young man then spent a few years in Italy, and finally settled in New York, where he achieved success as a promoter of cultural compilations, at the same time serving as an apologist for the Jews in many volumes published in German, French, and English. His *Christians' Vindication of the Jews* (in 4 volumes) I have not seen, but I remember his talking about the plan. It was to be an ambitious project, occupying a dozen or more volumes covering all the achievements of the Jews. He would not have any Jews engage in the task so as to forestall any criticism of partiality. Only Christians would participate; and in his animated and ebullient manner he demonstrated how he would convince the world of the accomplishments of the Jews by showing more samples in each field; and introducing, as he always did both in speech and in letters, a Hebrew phrase here and there, he argued "*Al akhas kama v'kama*" (a fortiori) if the whole story were to be told, etc.

I did not realize that I had so many letters from Dr. Singer until I began to dig into my archives for the purposes of this obituary.

Bold Proposal

As early as 1924, he wrote me: "I propose the consolidation of the 20-odd — I intentionally underscored the previous word — Jewish weaklies . . . into one strong paper *à la* London *Jewish Chronicle* of 20 to 25 years ago" — a plan which he labelled "The Creation of a Jewish Press Syndicate".

In subsequent letters he wanted me to undertake a work entitled "*The Life of the Jewish Psyche throughout the Ages*" or "*Bio-Psychology of the Jewish People*". He suggested the coöperation of Israel Zangwill, who "would be

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A-1 for the writing of a 10- to 20-page introduction. He is a big drawing card, and this introduction together with the psychological excerpts from his various books will help along."

In every one of Dr. Singer's letters, we find a fertile brain teeming with projects. Even when he had passed his seventieth year his mind clicked as if he were in the prime of life; and his handwriting was so remarkable in the only letter I have from him in longhand, that I sent it to Dr. Robert Saudek for a graphological analysis.

A Young Go-Getter

This letter, from Dr. Isidor Singer, began in *medias res*, without introduction or preliminaries.

"Your *Jewish Influence*," he wrote, "is a *chef d'oeuvre* in the truest sense of the word. How many copies have you sold? In 1882, I sold 4,000 copies of my first book by sending it to 6,000 'Ketzinim' (*i.e.*, of the upper classes. A. A. R.) with a 'Postanweisung' and request to return it 'if not wanted'. For \$1.00 (they hated to make the return package) 4,000 'sacrificed' themselves. When I told the story to Dr. Adolf Jellinek who told me his woes *re* his *mo-kher sephorim* [bookseller], who returned to him after the 'Leipziger Messe' more volumes than he gave him to dispose of, he roared but added 'as the Chief Rabbi of Vienna I naturally can't do that,' and I, quick as a flash, [retorted] 'Then don't complain.'"

A Little Gossip

Dr. Singer, in a footnote, explains that when he asked Dr. Jellinek how it was possible for him to have more copies returned than he had given the dealer, the reply was, "The 'ganev' [rogue] puts Guedemann's unsold copies in my

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pack," and then goes on to say that Jellinek and Guedemann "were not on the best terms — two Rabbonim in the same Kehilla".

I am not quoting the whole letter, which just brims with energy, helpful suggestions, and allusion, and contains half completed sentences; but it is enough to gain an idea of this man's tempo at the age of seventy. The French, German, and Hebrew phrases, which spiced his letters, were characteristic of his cosmopolitanism.

It was the most unrevealing portion — a few lines — of this letter which I sent to Robert Saudek, foremost graphologist of the last decade, disclosing merely the age and sex, in accordance with the general requirements of the art. The brief delineation which follows (it would have been more elaborate, but Dr. Saudek was overburdened at the time, and in 1930, I little realized how much pains one must take with a script) is rather interesting because the profile of Dr. Singer is objectively drawn in a few strokes; and we must remember that to Dr. Saudek, the initials, "I.S., male, 70," could mean very little.

"I.S., 70: Highly cultured, idealistic man, zealous, social, courageous, enterprising, versatile and self confident.

"Because of his inborn optimism he sometimes overdoes things, but he always means well, and his actions are inspired by benevolence, enthusiasm, idealism, and good-heartedness.

"At the age of 70 his energy and vivacity are certainly striking."

Boundless Optimism

The one thing which is noteworthy in his handwriting, as I analyze it, is the unusual muscular control, his freedom from inhibition, his facility of sweep. It is easy to con-

clude that we have before us the handwriting of one whose self-confidence is boundless, and whose resourcefulness and vigor may vie with these qualities in an ambitious man half his age.

I have heard some strong epithets applied to him, such as "egotist," "self-seeking," "conceited" by one or two minor Jewish leaders, publicists, or editors; but I believe they were unjust to him. Possibly a personal clash on a cause which claimed their attention either positively or negatively resulted in such bias.

Dr. Singer might be described as a practical idealist. He, of course, had his own interest in mind at all times, but the fact was that whatever he undertook happened to be in a cultural or idealistic realm; and that the one achievement alone, the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, which Israel Zangwill, among others, regarded as the greatest Jewish monument since the Talmud, entitled him to recognition as a pillar of modern Jewry.

All the greater wonder, then, and pity, that a champion of the Jewish cause in Austria, Italy, France, and the United States, a skillful combatant against anti-Semitism, a publicist of genuine ability, a literary promoter almost unique in his generation, a fascinating personality whose brilliant flashes helped to enliven many a gathering, that such a representative of Judaism in its many facets should remain without so much as an obituary notice, and that even the *Contemporary Jewish Record* and the *American Jewish Year Book* should not be able to record the exact date of his death, although it occurred in New York.

MOSES GASTER

For the past few weeks I had been contemplating writing to a friend in London. The actual correspondence of the day demanded my attention; and then illness imposed its delay.

As I was looking over the newspapers in bed one morning, my glance fell on a very familiar name, the name of the person to whom I was to write. Did the grand old man appear at a meeting and deliver an address? Had he published another book in his eighty-second year? No, the verb "was" caught my attention and I woke up with a jolt to the fact that Moses Gaster is no longer among the mortals; and that my letter must now be transformed into a necrologue.¹

Moses Gaster was undoubtedly one of the foremost Jews of the past generation. It was difficult to realize that this little blind man, who did not like to admit that he was sightless, was one of world Jewry's leaders before many of my readers were born. He was vice-president of the Zionist Organization when the movement was in its swaddling clothes and a close friend of the founder, Dr. Theodor Herzl. Gaster had an independent mind, did not stoop to play politics, was candid in his opinions, and, of course, could not remain as a leader after he antagonized the powers

1) Gaster died on March 5, 1939.

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in British Jewry. He more than once expressed his bitterness in regard to Zionism. He was more the prophet, the seer, than the diplomat, but his love for his people was inexhaustible, as was shown on many occasions.

Gaster the Scholar

Dr. Gaster had been the Chief Rabbi of all Sephardic Jews in the British Empire, if not in the world. His official title was *Habam*, and it must be said that never was a title more meritoriously borne. There have been rabbis who were scholars, and rabbis, even chief rabbis, whose talents lay especially in making representations on behalf of the Jews, in appearing at official functions, in meeting important personages, etc. Gaster could do all this, even if his impulsiveness sometimes would get the better of him, but he was above all the scholar — a credit to the rabbinate. It is no exaggeration to say that no one of the clergy in England could rank with him in achievement in the scientific or literary field. At one time he was president of the Folklore Society; for indeed he was one of the world's most noted folklorists.

Rumania's Foremost Jew

This is scarcely the time for a detailed account of Gaster's achievements; but a brief summary will suffice here.

First of all I have a clear recollection that Gaster had laid the most important phase of Rumanian culture under obligation to him. Not only did he prepare the best popular history of Rumanian literature, one that, I understand, is still being used in the schools, but he was instrumental, through his report on education, in raising the level of instruction in Rumanian schools. His contribution to Rumanian folk-lore is second to none, and his

Moses Gaster

Chrestomathy of Early Rumanian Literature (in two volumes) has never been superseded. Together with Solomon Schechter and Lazar Șăineanu, the principal philologist Rumania has produced, without so much as granting him the rights of citizenship, Moses Gaster stands out as one of a triumvirate that Rumanian Jewry can well be proud of. It is true that after Gaster had been in England some years, the Rumanian government presented him with a distinguished order and sought his return, but Gaster was not the man to be trifled with, although it could be gathered that he was not vengeful, since he complied with the request to write a report on the British school system for the Rumanian Department of Education.

Gaster's Chief Work

It is not easy to say which is Gaster's most important work. The man had written so much. He had made new discoveries in the form of manuscripts, *e.g.*, the Rumanian apocrypha, but perhaps the work which he himself regarded as his *magnum opus* was the publication of the *Samaritan Oral Law and Ancient Traditions* — a sort of Talmud which was pieced together from numerous Samaritan manuscripts procured from Samaritan high priests and scholars. Dr. Gaster owned the largest private collection of Samaritan manuscripts in the world. It is my impression that this work was completed after the author had been stricken blind.

It was a mystery to me how he could find his way about the many thousands of books which his library contained. His physician had ordered him, for obvious reasons, not to prowl around the several-storied house, but he moved about as if he were in the possession of his eyesight. It was pathetic to see him holding a paper or document as if reading,

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and then with an apology about his nearsightedness, asking someone to convey the contents, or pretending to have known all along that someone who had to cough to attract his attention, was in the room.

Gaster's Interest in Yiddish

The great puzzle to me was how this man, a former Zionist leader, the retired chief Sephardic Rabbi, former lecturer at the Universities of Bucharest and Oxford — who should, by all the rules of logic, have kept aloof from Yiddish and its literature — could bring himself to participate in every event of Yiddish interest. He went so far as to make his appearance, in his advanced years, at a meeting of the Workmen's Circle in London to say a few words of greeting or to take part in a reception of an emissary of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, which counted him among its honorary trustees and honored contributors to its publications.

Even in 1927, Gaster read a comprehensive paper before the Royal Society of Literature entitled "Yiddish Literature of the Middle Ages". Is it not strange that those who have been brought up on Yiddish should drop it from their range of interests, while the head of the Sephardim, whose ancestral tongue is Ladino, should have affiliated himself with the despised Jargon?

Gaster at Home

Dr. Gaster was not only an unassuming man. He was most hospitable, as indeed most of the household is. He made me promise once to have dinner with the family in the *Succab*, a sizeable hut with devices and "latest improvements" of which he was the very proud inventor. Even though all his thirteen children were not present, the atmosphere was patriarchal. He was a staunch believer in

large families, and more than once, in my hearing, did he excoriate the principle of birth control, on the ground that one could never tell how much genius would be prevented from coming into the world.

In his house you might meet at times a young man from Egypt, a lady who had just arrived from Australia, an elderly person from South Africa, and so on. Dr. Gaster had been brought up to these international receptions; for his father had been Dutch Consul in Rumania, and in his own home as a youngster, he had seen rabbis, military officers, writers, artists, and consular attachés from various countries foregather and discuss the events of the day.

Dr. Gaster's Archives

Dr. Gaster's collection of letters would be one of the most important media through which to get a glimpse not only of his various activities at the time he was a distinguished leader in world Jewry, but to help piece together an important chapter in Jewish history. He told me once that there were, in the basement of his home, 60,000 letters, which he was trying to put in order. It is to be hoped that this wonderful collection will eventually find its place in some Jewish national institution where it may form the core of a rich repository of historical documents.

LEONARD THOMPSON TROLAND¹

The tragic death of Dr. Leonard Thompson Troland removes from the active scientific world a man who will be equally missed in several fields of human endeavor. He had scarcely passed his forty-third birthday when he fell or jumped to his death on May 27 into a rocky canyon from the summit of Mt. Wilson, California, just as he was about to be photographed by an associate.

Dr. Troland, who had been suffering from a nervous collapse as the result of overwork and mental strain, had climbed the mountain for recreation. For some time he had been staying in Hollywood, where he was directing the research of the Technicolor Motion Picture Corporation, of which he was the vice-president and inventive genius.

Early Promise

Although still only a young man, Troland had already not only established a reputation in psychology, which was his major field, but ranked high as a physicist through his book (with the collaboration of Dr. Daniel Comstock), *The Nature of Matter and Electricity*; was well grounded in chemistry and biology, in which branches he wrote scientific papers, receiving the Bowdoin prize for a dissertation in chemistry at Harvard; earned an enviable repu-

1) This obituary first appeared in *Science*, July 8, 1932.

Leonard Thompson Troland

tation for himself in the field of optics, and at the time of the first World War, was assigned to the task of developing acoustic devices for detecting approaching submarines; served as chief engineer for the Technicolor Motion Picture Corporation, in which capacity he not only elaborated the process of exhibiting colored moving pictures, but developed methods to promote the manufacture of the film. In October, 1931, the U. S. Patent Office issued to him a patent embracing 234 claims and covering the production of pictures in color, thereby securing for him rights claimed by many contestants since 1921. As if this were not a sufficient range for a single mind, he was also interested in metaphysics and ethical theory.

It is characteristic of the man that he has left provision in his will for a fund, the purpose of which will be the advancement of knowledge with regard to the "relationship of consciousness and the physical world."

Unusual Blend of Theoretical and Practical

His was an extraordinary combination of the theoretical and the practical. The theoretical scientists respected him because of his technological achievements, while technologists admired him for his vast fund of theoretical knowledge. The only gap in his intellectual inventory was the humanistic segment, including the aesthetic and historical foundations. His practical sense reached out even into the business world, although his ambitions were never high in that direction.

Dr. Leonard Thompson Troland was born in Norwich, Connecticut, on April 26, 1889, the son of Edwin and Adelaide Elizabeth O'Brien Troland. After graduating from the Malden High School, he entered the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, receiving his degree in 1912. Con-

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tinuing his studies in the Harvard Psychological Laboratory under Münsterberg, he obtained his A.M. degree in 1914 and the doctorate in 1915. He was awarded a Sheldon travelling fellowship from Harvard for 1915-16, entering in optical research at the Nela Research Laboratory of the General Electric Company at Cleveland.

Returning to Harvard in 1916, he served as fellow in psychical research, working on the problem of telepathy, the results of which turned out to be negative. From 1916 to 1922 he was instructor in psychology at Harvard University and then was promoted to the rank of assistant professor. Since 1929 he functioned as a lecturer at Harvard, directing research for the most part in vision, although he had been offered an associate professorship, provided he would devote all his time to his academic duties. It was this technical demotion as a result of his versatility that preyed on his mind, since Harvard had meant so much to him.

Besides numerous papers in technical periodicals, Dr. Troland was the author of *The Nature of Matter and Electricity* (in collaboration with Dr. Daniel F. Comstock), 1917; *The Present Status of Visual Science*, 1922; *The Mystery of Mind*, 1925; *The Fundamentals of Human Motivation*, 1928; *The Principles of Psychophysiology*, in four volumes, (the fourth of which is still in manuscript). It is at least consoling to think that this last work, his *magnum opus*, was completed before the fatal accident. He also participated in the translation into English of Helmholtz's *Handbuch der physiologischen Optik*.

Troland was a member or fellow of about a dozen learned societies and president of the Optical Society of America in 1922-23.

Among the qualities which stand out in Troland's personality are his grim determination and industry, his unpretentiousness, even temper, and friendship. He could

Leonard Thompson Troland

work for 12 to 15 hours at a stretch and yet was never seen hurrying. His unassuming, although by no means submissive or meek, attitude was noticeable in all his contacts. Without looking for causes or individuals upon whom to lavish kindness, he was always accommodating and obliging to students as well as associates.

In spite of the well-known popular belief about the irascibility of reddish-haired people, I never saw him display the slightest distemper but once, and that was when someone was tampering with the tools in the mechanic's shop of the psychological laboratory. In discussion, he was delightful, because he never showed the least impatience if his views were criticized, and, furthermore, he was the first to admit difficulties. Apparently he believed with Horace that "The wise man continues unmoved."

Beneath an unruffled and phlegmatic exterior there stirred a consuming ambition. Although his practical knowledge of German was limited, he once undertook to translate one of his articles for a German periodical, in his youthful *naïveté* that submitting a manuscript in the foreign original was a handicap to its being published. His emotionality, instead of being directed against man, was spent on intractable matter. To turn shapeless material into an efficient device — that is what fascinated him. His native wit was peculiar to the stock from which he was descended, *viz.*, Scotch-Irish. He could see a humorous side to almost everything; and was amused by situations at which many others would chafe. This and the fact that he never took himself too seriously are proof that he possessed a genuine sense of humor.

As a psychologist, contrary to what might have been expected of a man who was so immersed in psychophysiological research, he belonged to the traditional school. On more than one occasion he exposed the one-sidedness of be-

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havioristic contentions. His doctrine of motivation was based on the pleasure-pain principle which, according to him, was further grounded in change of conductance in the synergic field. In ethics he was a hedonist of the utilitarian type. On the metaphysical issue, he sponsored the philosophy of psychical monism, or, as he sometimes called it, paraphysical monism. His idealism, however, did not carry with it any theistic implications.

* * *

Note: Troland was remotely related to Sir Joseph J. Thomson who, to him, was "undoubtedly the most eminent living discoverer in the domain of the electrical constitution of matter", as is stated in the legend to the frontispiece in Comstock and Troland's *The Nature of Matter and Electricity*.

DR. ROBERT SAUDEK

The premature death of Dr. Robert Saudek, on April 15, 1935, must have not only stunned his hundreds of personal friends in all parts of the world, but must grieve all who were acquainted with the graphological work that had made his name widely known as a careful investigator and lucid exponent of a study which has been regarded with disfavor by the majority of scientists.

Little did the founder of *Character and Personality* realize when he asked me in his last directed letter for a contribution, that it would be an obituary article on himself; and yet he may have felt that there was a possibility of Nature severing our friendship when he wrote his last dictated letter, which sounded almost like a valedictory. It is difficult to believe that the buoyant, scintillating spirit, whose far-flung plans bridged continents and whose dynamic qualities would rouse even the most phlegmatic temperament, is no longer with us, snatched in the midst of his ever expanding activities in the prime of his life.

Dr. Robert Saudek was born in the small town of Kolin, Bohemia, April 21, 1881. He was the descendant of a Jewish family that had played a leading part in the community since the sixteenth century, and whose services were recognized by royalty. Upon graduation from the Gymnasium and the German Academy of Commerce in Prague, he studied at the University of Prague, Leipzig, and

the Sorbonne. As a young man he travelled extensively, spending some time in France and in Germany. On one of these trips he sailed as far as Japan, writing *feuilletons* and travel pictures for a German-language newspaper. For a time he engaged in business, and during World War I, he maintained an intelligence bureau in The Hague. At the close of the War, he entered into diplomatic service for the Czechoslovakian Government, in Holland and in England, finally settling in London.

Dr. Saudek's versatility was extraordinary. To psychologists he is known as a graphologist, but he is the author of numerous literary essays, epigrams, and aphorisms, plays and novels. His first publication in book form appeared both in German and in Czech, in 1903. It consisted of two one-act plays (*A Child's Conscience* and *Jewish Youths*) and a drama *Hans*, in four tableaux. The volume was entitled *Drei Bühnendichtungen der Kinderseele*. In 1904 there appeared in German and Czech (Bohemian), simultaneously, *Eine Gymnasialtragödie* and a collection of pithy epigrammatic essays under the title of *Billige Weisheiten*. His novels alone would have entitled him to be classed as a man of letters, for not only did he produce more than half a dozen of them, but several appeared in a number of editions. *Dämon Berlin* was reprinted twenty-two times since 1907. *Der entfesselte Riese*, in a brief period, saw five editions. *Die Spielerin* was reprinted four times between 1910 and 1913. Other novels were *Und über uns leuchtende Sterne* (1907) and *Das Märchen des Meeres* (1909).

His most successful novel, however, and the one, curiously enough, which gave him the impulse to leave *belle-lettres* and devote himself to science was *Die Diplomaten*, which appeared not only in German and Czech, but also in Dutch, French and Italian. This narrative, which was

written immediately after the World War, deals with a graphological problem. Saudek's plays, mostly comedies, like *Kavaliers* (1909), in collaboration with Rudolph Lothar, *Heiligenwald* (1911), *Die Hoffnung der Nation* (1912), *Seite 105* (1914), and *Die Diestel* (1917) were performed on many a stage in Europe, and their author could very well have taken playwriting for his *métier*, had he not become more and more intensely engrossed in the results of his observations and experiments with handwriting.

In 1925 appeared his remarkable work, *Psychology of Handwriting* (in German under the title of *Wissenschaftliche Graphologie*) and soon after (1926) his *Experiments with Handwriting* (in German, *Experimentelle Graphologie*), both of which were destined to lay the foundations of a new graphology. These volumes were translated also into Czech and Dutch, and immediately won for the author a recognized place as an honest and lucid exponent of a study which heretofore had been looked upon as a pseudoscience in company with phrenology.

At one time, while in Golders Green, London, I was surprised to see in his study a shelf full of his books, and I remarked on his versatility, but he was disinclined to speak of his literary career, as if it were not worth the pains. It was clear that he regarded his laurels in graphology above anything he could gain in the field of *belles-lettres*.

On the other hand, he never lost interest in social and political problems. His surveys of world events in the *Prager Presse* were contributed regularly until his recent illness. His brain was like a large universal receiving station, intercepting everything that was in the air. Since he could foresee eventualities he was in a position to adjust himself accordingly.

In addition to his variegated activities, he kept up a vol-

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uminous correspondence. In the few years since he has had his American publishers send me his graphological works, I have accumulated nearly two hundred letters from him, many of them running into seven and eight pages of type-writing or script. His letters, in spite of their length, were never padded or gushing. There were so many subjects he covered, and he scarcely ever failed to meet an issue mentioned by his correspondent. Some of the letters are exceedingly interesting, in that, not only do they reveal much about the writer's personality, routine, accomplishments, etc., but they throw light on puzzling questions in graphology.

I am taking the liberty of quoting from one of his early letters to me, dated February 16, 1930:

"I must confess that mine is not a peculiar and inborn gift of reading character from handwriting at a glance. As a matter of fact, I have to study each writing from 30-90 minutes each before I can satisfy myself about its conclusive symptoms, and this is the reason why I am sending you today only a few of the answers, and why it will take me another fortnight to fit the rest into the frame of my daily routine work.

"I have some sort of an international practice. It consists chiefly of 5 groups of examinations, *e.g.*, (1) Commercial firms ask me to select the right candidates for an open post from the letters of the applicants. (2) I have to give evidence in law courts or advise governments in cases of alleged or suspected forgery of documents. (3) I advise doctors in cases of psychoneuroses. (4) I advise private people consulting me in all possible situations of daily life. (5) Besides, about one-third of my time is taken up

by unpaid research work. I am only too glad to undertake it. To this group of examinations belongs the work done for you or for a psychiatric clinic in London, or for an official committee for social welfare in Berlin. . . .

"I also lecture a good deal. And again half the number of the lectures is unpaid for, *e.g.*, educational committees, associations of psychiatrists, etc., whereas the other half is arranged by municipal authorities where I talk in a very popular way to bigger crowds.

"I happen to be a linguist and lecture in five languages, *i.e.*, English, French, German, Dutch and Czech; the latter being my native tongue. I have given courses in experimental graphology in universities in Berlin, Amsterdam, Brussels, and Prague.

"I can quite understand why you wonder whether looking for too many details I do not overlook the forest for the trees. I know my books are heavy reading, but things are not quite so bad as you think. The chief difficulty is that the various editions of my books are uniform instead of being differentiated according to the needs of each language and country. This was necessary for certain technical reasons, but it has the disadvantage that the American reader has to learn a great number of peculiarities about English, German, French, etc., writings, instead of specialising only in American script; and, in addition to that, that he has to learn about the methods of identification though he may be interested in the characterological part of graphology only. But this was necessary because my doctrine differs in this very point from those of all other graphologists, that I deny that there is any one method adaptable to all

writings, be it some sort of *Ausdruckskunde* or what not. -

"There is not such a thing as general graphology, but only a number of national graphologies. In each country some additional factors coöperate in the shaping of the national writing, whereas at the same time other factors have to be eliminated. If now I adapted the rules of my books to, say, only American writings, I could abridge my text by 40% at least, and could simplify it enormously. But then if you tried to apply such an American version of my doctrine to any other writings than American, it would fail in about 30% of the English cases, in about 40% of French writings and in about 50% of German ones. Quite in the same way a purely German version of my text would fail in 50% of American writings.

"Therefore, not being able to provide the readers with purely national adaptations of my method, I had to write books which would comprise all possibilities and because of that are necessarily heavy going."

His articles in various scientific journals are almost exclusively on graphology, but he was *au courant* with the different psychological doctrines of the day. In fact, his ability to orient himself in the intricate issues of psychological schools was extraordinary.

It was also as an organizer and promoter that he distinguished himself, and his founding the journal *Character and Personality* was no mean achievement. Only toward the end of 1930 did we discuss the possibility of such a journal. We had formulated a tentative plan, together with Mr. Meloun, his associate, and in spite of the trying financial

Dr. Robert Saudek

situation, the plan had begun to shape itself. What a surprise it was to receive the German prospectus of the journal *Charakter*, and soon after, the first number. The American edition at first struck some snags, but it too was realized. To publish a journal in three different editions and in two different languages in three different countries, and during the years 1931-32, was a Herculean labor in itself. At the same time Dr. Saudek carried on research, wrote articles, and published, in addition, two little books, *What Your Hand-writing Means* (1932) and *Anonymous Letters* (1934). He was preparing for larger things, one of them to expand the journal, which was growing rapidly both in circulation and prestige. He was looking forward to visiting the United States, where he was to give lectures in various universities. In fact, I had arranged to have him give a university extension course in Boston or Cambridge, but first of all the world depression, then his arduous duties, and finally his constitutional breakdown in the form of duodenal ulcers prevented him from realizing his ambition. He had lectured at the University of Amsterdam and the Czech University of Prague, as well as at the Handels-hochschule of Berlin, and was invited to speak informally at a number of American universities, including Harvard and Yale.

Dr. Saudek was a genuine man of culture. More than a European, he was a cosmopolitan, assimilating the atmosphere of every country in which he resided. In his conversation he was sparkling and at the same time not self-centered. His affability, generosity, and thoughtfulness were uncommon, and I have yet to see a more appreciative person than he was. In his presence one felt that the greatest difficulties could be surmounted. He was a fountain of bubbling enthusiasm, an optimist in the long run, although not always in a particular situation, and a cheerful com-

panion. Even in his last and painful illness, he refused to be alarmed over his condition, and would not cause any uneasiness to his friends.

He had an abundance of patience with people who antagonized or heckled him. At one time I had arranged for a *soirée* at a friend's house in Highgate, at which Dr. Saudek was to explain the elements of graphology. One of the guests, Louis Zangwill, brother of Israel, and a well-known novelist in his own right, opposed him nearly at every turn, implying that there was not a grain of reason in what he had been expounding. Dr. Saudek indulged him rather good-naturedly. He would never take a man to task for violently differing with him. His reaction to Freud's diatribe on the analysis of his (Freud's) handwriting, which I sent him, drew only a matter-of-fact explanation.

Two qualities, which by some could be regarded as weaknesses, were his readiness to compromise — a weakness common to most practical organizers — and inordinate ambition, which in all probability shortened his life. On the topic of forging ahead we had many lively discussions, both verbally and in our correspondence. While I had in mind as ideals such characters as Spinoza, the Wilno Gaon, and Joubert, who were not anxious to publish during their lifetime, he argued — perhaps with more reason than I then supposed — that unless a doctrine is promoted it will be lost in the ruck of ephemeral projects. I was more inclined to side with Emerson in citing the efficacy of a superior product, even if the product should happen to be only a mouse-trap. In the nature of events, Dr. Saudek's opinion must have been correct; for had he not worked incessantly to promulgate his system of graphology, he might have died comparatively unknown in his chosen field. On the other hand, had he not seized it by the forelock first, Fate might

Dr. Robert Saudek

have spared his physical constitution; and he could have continued producing works of a higher order.

* * *

Probably one question will suggest itself to the readers who have taken it for granted that Saudek was the leading authority on graphology, and that is: Upon what foundation does this reputation rest? I have tried to answer this for myself, and therefore may venture to incorporate my findings in this sketch.

It may be said, at the outset, that his graphological analyses were found to be adequate not only by myself, but by others who have tested him for experimental purposes. But, then, that alone would not decide the issue, for Raphael Schermann had amazed numerous scientists by his uncanny readings and even diagnoses of incipient disease.

Saudek was not a pioneer in the sense that Michon or Crépieux-Jamin was in graphology. He could scarcely vie with Ludwig Klages in the matter of originality and depth. For all that, Saudek was the foremost graphologist of our time, and to my mind the secret lies in his clarity, which he shares perhaps with Crépieux-Jamin, and his practical and assimilative mind, which prevented him from falling into the dogmatic speculations of Klages, who, for all his modernity, had never broken with the Scholastic methodology.

Saudek, to begin with, did not assume that handwriting was invariably a function of the person's individuality. He was too internationally-minded to overlook the fact that education, national *milieu* and tradition, writing material and other considerations enter into the problem. While Klages would often take refuge in intuition and would, in his attitude, remind us of Hegel, who would subordinate facts to theory, Saudek never dodged an issue, and would

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occasionally admit that some of the graphological signs cannot be established other than empirically, or that some of his findings were inferences based on putting "two and two together", the result, in other words, of a combinational process that could not be taught to others.

On the whole, however, he was analytical. His method of determining speed of handwriting or of appraising standard form (personality or individuality level) is from a technical point of view almost flawless. His discussion of the significance of certain characteristics, such as speed, is not only original but compelling in its logical development. Even though the stress laid on the speed factor complicates his system to a great extent, he would not be guided by considerations of simplicity alone.

Free from all pedantry, he would seize on the crucial issue and elaborate on the essential points — one reason why his system "took" so well — although his writing is by no means popular. He was critical toward himself, or as he would have expressed it himself perhaps, he had "good oversight", and if there loomed a contradiction, he would be the first to check up on it.

Dr. Saudek's work remains unfinished, of course, but it is to be hoped that his friends, associates, followers, and students will take up the thread.

P. S. Since the above wish was expressed, the Czech School in graphology has practically been transplanted to England.

MORITZ GEIGER

A small brochure reached me some time ago. It contained an address given at a memorial service in the Vassar College Chapel. The address was by Professor Ralph Barton Perry, and the service was in memory of Moritz Geiger.

Does the name Geiger mean anything to my readers? It is not likely that one in a hundred has heard of an important person by that name. So much the worse for our cultural life, so much the worse for our system of Jewish education; for the Geigers, like the Mendelssohns — or perhaps unlike the Mendelssohns would be the better analogy — form the Milky Way of German Judaism. Abraham Geiger was the founder of the Reform movement in Germany — a scholar in every sense of the word and a pulpit orator of no mean ability. Of still greater calibre was his son, Ludwig Geiger.

Father Abraham and Son Ludwig

Since this is the twentieth anniversary of Ludwig Geiger's death, perhaps I may take the liberty of quoting a few paragraphs from my *Jewish Influence in Modern Thought*, dealing with the multifarious activities of Ludwig, especially as the incident related is a foreshadowing of events which later took shape in the terrible years of 1933 and 1934.

"One of the landmarks in the cultural progress of the German Jews is fixed by the activity of the two Geigers, Abraham, the father, and Ludwig, the son. These two pillars of Jewish learning embodied in their persons the essence of the Mendelssohnian era. Abraham may be looked upon as the actual inaugurator of the Reform movement among the Jews; and his son, who has been dead ten years, was up to the very last a dynamic force in the intellectual life of Germany. No fewer than nine or ten periodicals were founded by these two disseminators of knowledge and knights of the mind.

"Abraham Geiger's periodicals were all devoted to the problems of Judaism and the Jews, but Ludwig, although maintaining his father's prestige in the Berlin Jewish community, had taken a secular road to fame.

"Since we are concerned here with periodicals only, there would be no point in enumerating the scores of books that Ludwig Geiger wrote or edited. The serials of which he took charge comprise the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Kultur und Litteratur der Renaissance*, the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, and with M. Koch, the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteratur-Geschichte und Renaissance-Litteratur*.

"He was also the co-founder of the *Berliner Neudrucke* and originator of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, which he projected half a century ago, and the circumstances of which reveal an episode of telling significance.

An Ominous Episode

"It was in 1880 that Geiger began to publish the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, attracting a number of the finest writers in Germany as contributors. Archives were discovered, letters were unearthed, and even manuscripts, that the greatest

German of many centuries had penned; and all were brought to light through the medium of this periodical, that is to say, through the initiative of the energetic Geiger. Meanwhile a Goethe Society had been formed and, in 1887, the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* had become the organ of the Goethe-Gesellschaft. The annual was growing in importance, and all went well until 1913, when the Goethe Society decided to bring out a journal of its own. Geiger's publisher was not disposed to compete with the influential body of men represented by the Goethe-Gesellschaft. Just as Geiger was about to issue the thirty-fourth volume of his periodical, he received a letter from the president and administration of the Goethe-Gesellschaft telling him of the decision. In a farewell notice to his readers and contributors who had supported him for a full generation, Geiger printed the letter, which speaks in a rather formal tone to the man who had set up a dynamic monument to the memory of Goethe. There is, to be sure, an expression of thanks, somewhat stiffly worded, with all the earmarks of a grudging gesture. 'We are under obligation,' says this note, 'to express our kindest thanks for your meritorious endeavors as editor of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*.'

"Geiger did not reply, did not remonstrate. Not a word of comment is contained in his valedictory to his readers. An eloquent silence and complete withdrawal from the Goethe temple lent an added halo to this venerable priest at the Teutonic shrine.

"What had happened, we can only infer from reading between the lines. It is fairly obvious that the German aristocracy was piqued at the fact that a Jew should be so closely associated with the darling of all Germany. The new *Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft* stressed the Teutonic elements, not only with regard to content, but even in the matter of make-up (compact Gothic letters).

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"Six years before he died, Geiger was obliged to part with the dream-child he had begotten and nurtured for thirty-four years."

* * *

So much for Ludwig Geiger. Moritz Geiger, his nephew, who died an untimely death in Poughkeepsie in 1938, was one of the most distinguished philosophers in Germany, one who could produce original researches in two such disparate fields as mathematics and aesthetics. "He lectured at Goettingen and at Vassar," writes Professor Perry, "not only on all the diverse branches of philosophy, historical and systematic, but on the philosophy of history, the state, science, nature and art, and on the history of European culture."

The late Dr. Geiger was fortunate in his memorialist, Professor Perry, who is not only the senior professor of philosophy at Harvard University, but who will be recognized as the winner of the Pulitzer Prize for his biography of William James.

Among Geiger's traits which Professor Perry speaks of are his self-forgetfulness, warmheartedness, and kindness. "A few years ago one of my students spent a year at Goettingen and turned to Professor Geiger for help and guidance. This was at the time of his acutest suffering, when he was the victim of suspicion, persecution, and estrangement. Even under these painful conditions his solicitude and his hospitality were undiminished and unremitting. It was this personal quality of kindness, as much as his intellectual gifts and attainments, and his cosmopolitan outlook, that made his transplantation to America so successful. With human beings to like and to help, he could have flourished anywhere."

Moritz Geiger

A Regrettable Omission

It is perhaps ungracious on my part to find fault with a genuine tribute such as Professor Perry's undoubtedly is; and yet I cannot forget that in the biographical sketch of Moritz Geiger, which is filled with interesting and well chosen facts, not a single word is said about Geiger's antecedents. One might have thought that Geiger himself would have invited such an omission, but I happen to know that such is not the case. Must we, by way of protest against Nazi racialism, renounce all references to the Jews as a people?

It was in 1926, when Moritz Geiger attended the International Congress of Philosophy in Cambridge, that I had the opportunity of meeting him. The name Geiger stood out for me since my childhood days, not only because of my reading of Graetz and other works on Judaism, but because in my linguistic and literary quests, I had come across the name of Ludwig Geiger. It was difficult to believe that this buoyant and boyish-looking, radiantly cheerful man was one of the professors at formidable Goettingen. He seemed to have a pyknic disposition and mood, always ready to serve. It needed no courage on my part to ask him whether he belonged to the Geiger family.

There was a distinct expression of pride and joy on his face when he replied that Abraham Geiger was his grandfather and Ludwig was his uncle. He was pleased, and to some extent surprised, that I should know about his family. Toward the end of our conversation he volunteered the information that he was the first Jew to be appointed professor in a German university — without benefit of baptism. It will now be seen why I said above, "perhaps unlike the Mendelssohn family." Moritz Geiger looked like a viva-

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cious, refined, and spirited Jew (more of the Sephardic cast), but he did not make any attempt to disguise the fact or live it down. He was conscious of his heritage, and surely would have wished his affiliations mentioned in a sketch or necrologue of him. In fact, the reference to him as "the victim of suspicion, persecution, and estrangement," would carry more meaning, if the readers knew that Geiger was descended from Abraham (his grandfather and also his primeval ancestor in Ur Kasdim).

McDOUGALL AND THE PRESS

Notes on Newspapers

We are, of course, glad to have our newspapers as they are, so long as there is a free press. Even the sensational news, the ridiculous "funnies", the nonsensical horoscopes, and all, are refreshing in comparison with the regimented press in the dictator countries. Yet, sometimes we wonder about the mentality of newspapermen.

A few days ago, the foremost psychologist in the English-speaking countries, and probably in the world, Professor William McDougall, died in the very midst of his prodigious labors.

He had been senior professor in the psychology department at Harvard University for ten years, had been identified with many causes in Greater Boston and had enjoyed the respect of the whole community, and particularly of his colleagues, for his sterling qualities of character as well as for his outstanding contributions to science. The Boston newspapers devoted a few lines to the sad event. The following day, I noticed a "streamer" in one of the staid papers of the American Athens. What do you suppose was the 8-column headline? It was just this: "Rudy Vallee Socks Heckler". If he had at least socked Hitler!

Some time ago a young college football player joined a cult. The newspapers ran headlines several days in suc-

cession about the student. Once, when Babe Ruth arrived in Boston, all the newspapers had half the front page filled with the slugger's triumphal entry.

The difference between a provincial and a metropolitan newspaper is not always apparent, but it is in such matters as comparative allotment of space that newspaper quality can be discerned. McDougall's death did receive a column and a-half of space in the *New York Times* and close to that amount in the *Herald-Tribune*, although McDougall lived in a small town in the South. They are America's leading newspapers. That explains the difference.

McDougall's Worth

When McDougall was fleeced by a couple of sharpers, the very newspapers which slurred his death featured the news in a column or more. Little did they care about McDougall's distinction at Oxford, his bringing up a generation of psychologists in England and another in this country, his pioneer work with the natives of Borneo, and his classical work in social psychology, his war record as a major in the medical corps at the front, his experiments on thirty generations of rats to show that we can inherit characteristics which have been acquired by our parents, his several systematic textbooks, even in physiological psychology, his original theories in many branches and departments of psychology — all that they were concerned with was that McDougall, the great psychologist, allowed himself to be duped, and that he inspired the telepathy experiments at Duke. Shakespeare's couplet about the "evil that men do" and the good which "is oft interred with their bones" applies with greater force to American reporting.

McDougall was, of course, not a Jew, although he referred to one of his ancestors centuries back as Jewish. In

McDougall and the Press

this connection he told an interesting anecdote. A noted anthropologist in Great Britain once claimed that he could tell by scanning the features of an individual whether he had any Jewish blood, and, looking at McDougall, told him that he must have had some Jewish antecedents.

It so happens that William McDougall had many friends among the Jews. Even one of the swindlers who relieved him of \$24,000 was a Jew, but I think he was irked more by the fact that his theories were severely criticized, almost in contemptuous fashion, by young Jewish anthropologists (all of the Boas school) and psychologists (even publicists, for Walter Lippmann, before he became a tory, attacked him more than once). He believed in superior and inferior races, but curiously enough, in his *Group Psychology* he took the Germans down a peg and regarded the Jews as distinctly superior. He did not see why Jewish scholars should wish to deny the existence of a Jewish race.

His was a complex personality. Scotch in his philosophical outlook and sentiments (when two of my students who were going abroad asked him what they might bring him back, he said "a sprig of heather," and although they did not intend to visit Scotland, they made a special trip to the moors and heaths, so as to gratify his casual, not seriously intended, wish), he was nevertheless not thrifty. Scientific in his pursuit, he showed mystical tendencies. Democratic and benevolent in all his dealings with people, he advocated a peculiar form of interbreeding which reminded one of the Hindu caste system.

His generosity toward a colleague who might easily be regarded as his rival must be remembered as a trait of the man. When the late William Stern was ousted both from his professorial position at Hamburg University and the presidency of the German Association of Psychologists, he had nowhere to turn to. Had it not been for McDougall,

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who invited him to Duke University, the foremost of the German-speaking psychologists, and grandson of a founder of Reform Judaism, would have been *in extremis*.

Only a little while ago, Duke University had one of the finest psychological departments in America, with the greatest of the English-speaking psychologists and perhaps the foremost German-speaking psychologist working side by side. They both died at the same age, within a few months of each other. Neither of them can be replaced; and Duke University has lost two of its most brilliant lights.

A REMARKABLE CRIMINAL

Assuming that the report of Urke Nakhalnik's death at Otwock, Poland, at the hands of the Nazis is true, I might take occasion to say that I. Farbarowicz or, as he was known in the underworld of Poland, "Urke Nakhalnik" ("ace crook") was the author of the best criminal memoirs I have ever read. This autobiography (up to his release from prison) appeared in Yiddish and in Polish, with an introduction by a Polish professor of psychology, who pointed out the sociological value of the work.

It was my intention to bring out the memoirs in an English translation and to this end I received Urke's authorization, but after translating part of the volume I doubted the wisdom of promulgating the description of the Jewish underworld at this time. Perhaps, too, it was just as well that the publishers to whom a sample of the manuscript was submitted were not so keen as I was about the merits of the work.

Nevertheless, I am quite convinced that Urke Nakhalnik was an observant and reflective individual with an unusual sense of humor; and I still contend that the autobiographies extant in English by such characters cannot compare with Urke Nakhalnik's *Mein Lebensveg*.

From Yesbiva to Prison

Here was a bright boy, the son of respectable middle-class people who wanted to make something of him, and

who, at the mother's instance, was sent to a Yeshiva, but he managed to take the wide road of ease and pleasure. His accounts of prison life under the Russian, Polish and German regimes make instructive reading, while the detailed story of his burglaries and underworld life is truly fascinating. In the last decade he reformed, married a graduate of the Wilno Jewish gymnasium, and, proud of his wife and child, led a respectable literary life, meeting with some success as a playwright and lecturer.

I could cite many passages from his memoirs which would offer thrills to the reader, but it would be more fitting, in view of the circumstances, to select a few paragraphs dealing with the 1914 World War and showing what the Jews in Poland had to endure at the time. Urke, who was then a youth of fighting age, but succeeded in avoiding combatant duty, relates the following incident:

Ingenious Detective Work

"In the townlet of K., not far from Białystok, where my father was staying with the family, the order was received to arrest all Jews who wore yellow beards. The order was brought by a group of police officers who were to see to it that it was efficiently carried out.

"It may easily be imagined what a stir the arrest and fettering of those Jews had caused. For it was a common thing in that district to shoot dead any Jew on the slightest suspicion. I was told, *e.g.*, that once a porter had delivered a bag of flour, and as he was returning in the dead heat of a sultry day, he was fanning himself with his cap. As fate would have it, a German plane appeared. One of the Russian soldiers cried out that the Jew was signalling the plane.

"None of the pleadings of the man, none of the cries of his wife and children could save the poor Jew. In less than

A Remarkable Criminal

an hour, he was backed up against the wall and laid low. No wonder, then, that the yellow-bearded Jews were regarded as marked men.

"Unfortunately my father had a blond beard too; and for this reason he was among the blond prisoners. It is true, his was a short Van Dyke, but it was large enough to reveal the color. The wives of these blonds, naturally the prettier ones, not knowing what was to happen to their husbands followed them with bankrolls so as to apply grease to the hands and balm to the heart.

"Thus they had to trudge along on foot for 19 miles, until they reached the provincial capital. It transpired that a soldier had stolen two cows from the quartermaster's stock. He was apprehended and claimed that he had sold them to a yellow-bearded Jew in K., whose name he did not know.

"The police captain, a resourceful man, thought of an ingenious idea. He had all the Jews in K. that were blonds arrested. Now they were all lined up in police headquarters for identification. Naturally the thief pointed out the first that met his gaze in fancy.

"Fortunately, however, the 'fence' was not a Jew, but a yellow-bearded peasant who was also hauled out, on the suspicion that he was a Jew. The Jews were released and, worn out with fright and exhaustion, returned to their village.

"My father, to be sure, was freed even before there was a line-up. He was known to be a prominent merchant; and an apology was made, putting the blame on the war."

An Exception in Parole Annals

I. Farbarowicz, or "Urke Nakhlnik", was shot because it was reported that he had concealed arms which were left on the field by the contendnig armies. If we should lend credence to this charge, we might suppose that Urke's in-

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tention was to give some Nazi sadist a dose of his own medicine; for he was powerfully built and possessed brute courage in a high degree. Whether the slaying of Urke needed any more of a pretext than the murder of thousands of other Jews in Poland and Russia is a different story.

Urke was one of the few recidivists who genuinely and permanently reformed. After he achieved a measure of success as a writer and lecturer, he would occasionally visit the slums of Warsaw. He would enjoy being "taken in" by an amateur crook, and more than once, a pickpocket would draw from the elegantly dressed "Urke" the comment that he was doing a poor job and, to convince him, the "victim" would demonstrate before the eyes of the dumbfounded thief.

Urke was undoubtedly one of the most colorful characters in the Warsaw district.

ISRAEL LÉVI

It was through sheer chance that I discovered a notice in the press to the effect that the Chief Rabbi of France, Israel Lévi, had passed away in his 83rd year. I feel sure that a great many Jewish youngsters felt anxious over the condition of Jack Dempsey, but I doubt whether one in a hundred thousand Jewish boys in America knew anything about the man who was, *ex officio*, the most influential Jew in France during the last two decades.

Probably the fact that I recall a pleasant chat with him in his study some ten years ago makes his loss more regrettable to me, but he was a figure who will be missed in Paris for a long time. His majestic carriage, his senatorial rather than patriarchal mien, his ruddy complexion, his sense of humor, and, lastly, his manifold activities on behalf of the Jewish cause set him off as a distinguished person, in every way.

True to what might be called an individualistic quirk of mine, not to ask for a personal interview of any celebrity with whom I had not already had some previous contact or some definite business to transact, I had not intended seeing the Chief Rabbi of France, but inasmuch as I wished to gain his support on behalf of the Yiddish Scientific Institute and as he had been mentioned in my *Jewish Influence in Modern Thought*, I could not resist the opportunity of speaking to a real representative of French Jewry.

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A Memorable Interview

As he was walking out of the magnificent Consistory Temple, often referred to as the (now destroyed) Rothschild Temple, on Rue de la Victoire, one Saturday morning, I introduced myself as an American and asked whether it would be possible for me to see him for a short period. He told me he would write me the following week. We must remember that the Chief Rabbi in Paris, because of his position, and the fact that Paris was the world's greatest junction, had more demands on his time than any other Jewish leader and was burdened with all sorts of requests and pleas. He knew me merely as the author of a book on Jewish matters; and there are numerous authors who travel about asking for testimonials, subscriptions, letters of recommendation, and what-not.

Whether or not any thought like this was in his mind, I don't know, but he could not be blamed for failing to make an appointment on the spur of the moment.

A few days later I received a note asking me to come to his home on Rue de la Bruyère at six o'clock. Most appointments in France are made for six, so that one could not overstay, since seven is the hour for dinner.

I was somewhat surprised to find the Grand-Rabbin of France and its colonies, professor at the Seminary, and editor of the *Revue des Études Juives*, the most scholarly Jewish periodical in the country, living in a very modest apartment in a none too residential section of the Montmartre district. A still greater surprise was in store for me, when, getting out of the elevator, on the fourth floor instead of the fifth, I rang the door-bell and asked of a so-called lady whether the Grand-Rabbin lived there. The reply was an impetuous "non", accentuated by a slam of the door in my face. Would an American neighbor of a famous rabbi have acted

Israel Lévi

in a similar way? Certainly not in 1930. But in France, *politesse* is one thing and manners quite another.

We talked for an hour. At first Rabbi Lévi was somewhat formal, but it did not take long before he warmed up. The subjects were many — assimilation, French Jewry, about which he was discreet, and Madame Caillavet, whom I did not know till then to have been Jewish. It was she who was Anatole France's mistress in the ordinary, as well as the figurative, sense. Without her, the great French novelist would have been spending his energies on literary fragments and on social *bagatelles*. She once locked him up in his room until he completed one of his masterpieces.

It was, however, when Israel Lévi began to speak about the great Jewish sociologist, Émile Durkheim, that he showed much feeling. I was astonished to see tears in his eyes when he told of Durkheim's endeavors to save immigrant Jews from deportation at the time of the first World War, when dark forces moved heaven and earth to free France from these *émigrés*. Durkheim, who was rated by many French sociologists even above Comte, was at first averse to applying his time, wrested from a heavy schedule of teaching and research, to become an attorney for Russian and Polish Jews, but soon he was overwhelmed by the sacredness of the charge; and as he was looking over brief after brief, noting the sufferings of the Jews, he broke down and wept. It was at this point that the Grand-Rabbin, son-in-law of Zadoc Kahn, who was Grand Rabbin at the time of the Dreyfus affair, showed his emotion. The strain was too great for Durkheim. He died soon after, in 1919, at the age of 61.

As regards Yiddish, Israel Lévi expressed himself as neutral. He had recommended a subsidy for the Yiddish Scientific Institute from funds of the French Consistory

and was personally interested in the publications of the Institute.

Israel Lévi was a scholar, having written on Jewish folklore, Jewish rites, prayer, Franco-Jewish history — his most notable contribution being the French edition of Joshua Ben-Sira — but it was as a wise and personable Jewish leader that he performed a distinct service over several decades.

LUCIEN LÉVY-BRUHL

The late Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, who died recently in Paris at the age of 82, was one of the world's foremost sociological philosophers. He was among the three or four major philosophers of France; and although Bergson is still with us, his physical condition is such as to render him unfit for any more intense work. There will remain only Léon Brunschvicg to carry on the tradition. Lévi-Bruhl was still active, despite his 82 years, both as lecturer and editor of the *Revue Philosophique*, France's leading philosophical periodical, which was intrusted to him by its founder, Ribot, when he felt the time had come to name a successor.

Lévy-Bruhl went twice to Harvard as French Exchange Professor from the Sorbonne. He was not only well-liked, but greatly esteemed by his colleagues. Tall, spare of form and spry of limb, he looked more the genial physician than the philosopher. There was something business-like about his manner, gait and speech.

Before he received his major appointment at the Sorbonne, he had served as a lecturer at the Séminaire Israélite in Paris. It is my impression that he had prepared for the rabbinate, but I am not certain. His contact with the Jews was characteristically French — that is to say, superficial. In one of his letters, replying to my question whether he was conscious of any racial elements in his philosophy, he denied that he had been influenced by Jewish thought. Like

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Meyerson and other Jewish philosophers in France, he ascribed his general trend and method to his French environment, but curiously enough, Émile Durkheim was his intellectual master — and Durkheim was a Jew. `

His Significant Contribution

His chief interest lay in questions of a social nature. His ethics was descriptive, telling us what is usually done rather than what ought to be done. He was a gifted exponent of the British and French social thinkers, but his best known work is on the mentality of primitive people. What he did in these studies, which were translated into a number of languages, was to show that the primitive, or as we sometimes unjustly call him, savage, is not so "dumb" as we suppose, that his logic is merely different; and that in order to understand his mode of reasoning, we must become acquainted with the conditions of primitive society.

Part IV

EVENTS

YEAR OF JUBILEES

The year 1939 has been a record year in many respects, not only because it has seen the beginning of the second world war, which will prove more devastating than the original world war, and because of the states which have been effaced, and the terrible fate of Polish Jewry. It would seem as if 1939 holds the stakes for posterity. I do not belong to those who are so overwhelmed by the prospect of a bitterly protracted war that they have given up all hope of a rehabilitated world.

At present, however, another phase of the year 1939 occurs to me — its plethora of jubilees. Of course, we know that every year must have its jubilees; for it would be a peculiar year indeed, if no genius or great man were born in it, more particularly as every year, in later centuries, can be regarded as a multiple. Thus 1940, let us say, may mark the fiftieth anniversary of a famous poet, the centenary of a great composer, or the bicentenary of a renowned philosopher.

1859 *Favorable to Philosophy*

The year 1939, aside from commemorating the centenary of Anton Rubinstein's birth, happens to mark the eightieth anniversary of the birth of Sholem Aleykhem, of Émile Meyerson, Samuel Alexander, Henri Bergson, and of

Edmund Husserl — all of them aces, all of them Jews. We might add that Albert Einstein's sixtieth anniversary was also observed in the same year.

Naturally one could write many articles on each one of the septet mentioned, certainly on the four philosophers, Meyerson, Alexander, Bergson, and Husserl, three of whom are now in a world untroubled by dictators; and the fourth, Henri Bergson, now paralyzed for a decade or more, is hardly the Bergson of 1912, when he dominated European philosophic circles.¹

Although I devoted a whole chapter to Husserl in a book which appeared in 1929, I single him out for a notice here, because of a few interesting facts which recently came to light. The chapter I refer to was headed "The Deepest Man in Germany". Small wonder that a Heidelberg professor in Nazi Germany reviewing the book for *Kant-Studien*, spoke of the chapter as a *Plauderei*, although he "willingly and gratefully recognizes the tremendous industry in the exploitation of literary sources and the gathering of countless detailed facts". Naturally, if I called Hitler the deepest man in Germany, and Professor Metz had thought me an Aryan, my comments would not have been dubbed a "*Plauderei*".

A Name To Conjure With

That Husserl, who died recently, was in a class by himself may be gathered from the fact that Harvard, Columbia, Yale, Princeton, Johns Hopkins and other famous universities sent their younger instructors on fellowships to Freiburg in order to saturate themselves with Husserl's phenomenology, which was the severest discipline an American

1) Bergson's death, soon after this was written, carried a tragic tale with a poignancy of its own.

Year of Jubilees

academic man could think of. I came across quite frequently men who have studied under Husserl, and their attitude is one of awe. Indeed, I have heard it remarked that most of them are so zealous about their experiences that they refuse to compare notes with the few more communicative devotees.

When I called on the new Chief of the Cataloguing Division of the Harvard University Library, Dr. Andrew D. Osborn, in order to discuss the Yiddish books in the library, he brought up the subject of Husserl. It was a surprise, because I did not associate a cataloguing expert with philosophy of a profound type. It appeared that not only had he read my *Jewish Influence in Modern Thought*, as a candidate for the doctorate, but had tracked me down some years ago as one who could tell him where a book by Husserl, in William James's library, sold nearly 20 years ago, could be found. I then discovered that he belonged to the unorganized circle of Husserl students and admirers, having spent some time with the founder of phenomenology, in two different years.

Husserl did not publish a great deal, but everything which came from his pen made a stir. That the rigorous philosopher, however, had more than twelve hundred manuscripts of various lengths was not generally known even among his friends. So inexorable was his sense of self-criticism. But alas, the manuscripts are written in a sort of shorthand, which is being deciphered with great difficulty by two of his disciples, who are not altogether in agreement as to the code.

It is astonishing that a man of Husserl's calibre would not come to the conclusion that it is better to publish books which are imperfect than to risk the loss of his mental treasures. Just think of how close his precious manuscripts came to being consigned to the flames or rubbish heap by

the Nazi Ministry of Education. And had it not been for the University of Louvain, Husserl's unpublished works might possibly have perished with him.

Louvain Buys Husserl's Books

But why Louvain University — a distinctly Catholic University, in Belgium? I was told by my informant that it was thought at one time that Husserl's philosophy was a prop to the system of St. Thomas Aquinas. This reminds me that once Émile Meyerson, the jolly sage of Paris, told me how he joshed his younger friend, Léon Brunschvicg (whose wife, it will be remembered, was in the Cabinet of Blum) by observing "Well, now that Bergson has become a pillar of the Roman Catholic Church, your turn may come too".

Louvain has not yet decided on purchasing Husserl's library. It may be more than a financial question; for Husserl, even though a converted Jew, was far from promoting Neo-Scholasticism. Rather was he the scientific protagonist of Plato. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say of him than of any other contemporary philosopher, that he was just himself. It is Dr. Osborn's hope that Louvain does not keep the library so that Harvard could acquire it, and with good reason; for aside from the fact that many Harvard men had sat at Husserl's feet, to use a trite phrase, his close kin have finally been able to secure a haven in Greater Boston.

Husserl was ready to retire when Hitler began his terroristic regime, so that he was spared a good deal of humiliation, but his non-Jewish assistant, who helped him with the preparation of his manuscripts for publication, was discharged by the Government. To a former student, now a professor in New York, who cabled greetings on his

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seventy-fifth birthday, which occurred in 1934, Husserl writes:

"You will understand the reason for my tardy expression of thanks. We, which means, of course, also our son and daughter, as well as her husband, as 'non-Aryans', in the sense of the new laws, belong to those hit hard. It is the most disastrous blow of fate we have had in our life, revolutionizing our whole future! . . . For some months my work has been at a standstill. The salary of my assistant, Dr. F., has been stopped. I can retain him for only a few months more. He is now finishing an excellent critical article (against the attacks or misinterpretations by the Rickert School). I am hoping soon to be able to seclude myself from the wicked world and devote myself to my work."

It is gratifying to note that Husserl's widow still received her very modest pension at the outbreak of the War, but when Dr. Osborn explained that, after all, her husband was a privy councillor, I could not refrain from telling him the story of General Hofmann's widow.

Nazi Gratitude

It may not be recalled but by a few of the readers that the only noteworthy successful general in the first World War on the German side was General Hofmann, who completely routed the Russians, effected the Brest-Litovsk peace, and was made ruler of the German-occupied territory in Russia and Poland. This General Hofmann, to whom Germany owed so much, was married to a Jewess, who in her aged widowhood was not spared the consequences of

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the Nuremberg laws by the Nazi administrators (both official and unofficial).

After her endurance reached the breaking-point, she made a personal appeal to Adolf Hitler, begging him to stop the outrage out of consideration for the memory of her deceased husband. Back came the reply that the Fuehrer saw no reason why her case should be treated differently from others. One must certainly give Hitler credit for a ruthless consistency.

Postscript, 1942

Husserl's private library, I learn, has been destroyed when Louvain suffered a repetition of its experience during the first World War. Mrs. Husserl, having left Germany for Belgium, thereby lost all claim to the small pension which she was drawing. Through the sale of the books to Louvain, she was able to maintain herself for some time. As regards the precious manuscripts which her husband left behind, they may have been saved, since they were not placed in the University library, but were intrusted to members of the Louvain faculty.

WHEN MYTHOLOGY BECOMES REALITY

For a good many months I have thought of a book I had read in childhood. Some of my older readers, at any rate, are acquainted with it. It is the popular *Seyfer Hayosbor*. I prize the copy which I have, not only because it brings up old memories, but because therein I find a record of my first literary efforts — blocked Hebrew characters, betraying the limited observation of the four- or five-year-old boy.

I must say that the stories of Jack the Giant Killer, or the Mother Goose stories seemed infantile to me at the age of seven compared with the legends found in this extended paraphrase of the Pentateuch. Perhaps the clearest recollection of the book in my mind is the social life of Sodom. My first taste of supreme social injustice, villainy, and chicanery was afforded in these yellowed pulp pages. Each of the instances caused me to reflect on the inhumanity of man. How could anyone be so vile, so malicious? The destruction of Sodom was, of course, gratifying to read about after the revolting incidents; but as I grew older, it was a relief to learn that no such community ever existed! Alas, how premature that conclusion! Not only could such a regime or community exist, but we are actually living to-day in a world where the customs of Sodom are reproduced almost literally.

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Mickey Mouse and Nazi Rat

We are beginning to realize gradually that the world of fact and the world of mythology are not so far apart after all; and that with Mickey Mouse on the one hand and the Nazi rat on the other, we may well wonder whether reality is any different from legend.

Do any of my readers remember the story of Hidud who befriended the stranger in Sodom when no one would give him lodging for the night? The stranger had a beautiful cover for his ass, which Hidud, his host, helped to untie and hid for safe keeping. When the stranger was ready to depart, he asked for the cover, but Hidud began to persuade him that the cover was just a dream; and to show his helpfulness again, he proceeded to interpret the dream. The cover with its beautiful colors signified an orchard where he would have all sorts of trees planted. The cord attached to the cover was an indication that the stranger would live long, since it was a long cord which he apparently saw in his dream.

The guest, however, insisted on the return of the garment. That infuriated Hidud. "Now, look here," he said. "Never mind the garment. I charge generally four silver coins for interpreting a dream; but will be satisfied with three. Let me have the money then." You may readily understand that the poor stranger refused to pay, until he was brought to court where he was now asked to pay for the lodging, the food, and four silver coins for the dream interpretation. The robe was still a dream.

It was in Sodom that the famous conformity bed, which had its parallel in the Greek Procrustean bed, originated. If the unfortunate stranger who happened to pass through the city was tall, he would be squeezed into it; if short, his legs would be stretched. Today this procedure would be called "coordination" (*Gleichschaltung*).

When Mythology Becomes Reality

Or we may recall the incident of Eliezer, Abraham's servant, who was struck by a Sodomite with a rock and bled profusely. The Sodomite then asked him to remunerate him for his services. "What!" Eliezer cried. "You injure me and want me to pay you?" "Yes", replied the assailant. "That's the custom here," and to convince him he brought him before the judge, who after listening to the account said to Eliezer, "What impudence! Of course you are to pay for the service when you are bled." Eliezer then picked up a rock and threw it at the judge, demanding that the judge pay the plaintiff his fee, and left the court.

Parallels Favor Sodom

That, however, was Sodom. In present-day Germany, Eliezer would be tortured to death in a concentration camp for as much as intimating that the decision of the judge was not fair. He would have no chance to leave the court on a reciprocity basis.

More than once I was reminded of the Eliezer legend when the German Government decreed that Jewish storekeepers whose establishments had been damaged by the Nazi hooligans which (yes, "which" not "whom," with all my apologies to English grammar) the bloodthirsty authorities encouraged if not actually organized — the storekeepers were to pay the landlords for the damages. We may next expect the fiends to exhort fees for the horrible mutilations practised on their Jewish victims on the ground that they had performed a surgical operation.

One of the priceless revelations to the Americans was the comment made in German official circles in connection with the recall of the German ambassador. Hitler, Goering and Co. wanted to find out about the "queer attitude" of the United States toward the outrages — exactly

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the fine mentality of the "judges" in ancient Sodom, who could not understand why any one should question their code, and that any one could dare to criticize their "internal policy." Our courageous President Roosevelt was the first high executive of any land to puncture that jungle law dignified in the name of diplomacy. There was a time when a man could kill his wife or child and incur no penalty on the principle that the slain was his possession. May I predict that some day — after our Dark Age is followed by an enduring enlightenment period — the world at large will prevent minority persecution in *any* country regardless of "appeasement," or diplomatic etiquette; for that is as it should be.

Animal Fables and Nazi Shambles

The great fabulists, Aesop, LaFontaine, Krilov, and Goethe, when they were conceiving animal foibles, hardly imagined that the vices satirized would actually be reproduced in the official circles of a great country that is now the succubus of a diabolic gang.

We all remember the fable of the wolf that spied a lamb drinking water lower down on a ravine and was just aching to make a feast of the poor lamb. "Woof," cried the wolf, "so you are contaminating my water. Wait and I'll show you." "But I can't be doing anything to your water," timidly replied the lamb, "for I am lower down the slope." "Well, it doesn't matter, your brother called me names last week," and before his victim could tell him that he had no brother, the wolf with one fell swoop lacerated and devoured him.

We all know that the act of the half-crazed boy in Paris was only a pretext for the murders, pillage, and extortion that were in the offing anyway. Observers had noticed that

When Mythology Becomes Reality

all the machinery to crush the Jews in a new relentless drive had been prepared long before Hershl Grynszpan fired the shots at von Rath. Hitler and Himmler, Streicher, Goebbels and Goering thought themselves fortunate to have had such a "good" excuse for their beastliness; and it is with creatures of this sort that Chamberlain and Daladier had friendly conferences, shook hands with them — hands reeking with blood — and accepted their hospitality. Well, maybe that is part of the animal fable, too.

Thus far it was our own liberal-minded and frank President who dared to say, "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?"

POETRY PLUS

For weeks I have been haunted by a little poem of no more than three short stanzas which Georg Mannheimer included in a letter to an American friend, perhaps not intending it for publication. There was something ominous, something uncanny about the twelve lines, and now that Mannheimer, editor of a Prague journal, is in a concentration camp . . . the words are even more significant.

Let us hope, at least, that he will, together with most of us, be able to salute the dawn of a new era, and that his stirring German *Marseillaise*, which, so far as I know, has not yet appeared in print, will ring out in unison, while the hangman wrings the necks of the Nazi ghouls.

Mannheimer, I understand, composed the poem in English. I have taken the liberty to change the word "pressed" to "borne", for the sake of both the rhythm and diction, and, am reproducing it as one of the most powerful commentaries of our age. There are great poems, beautiful poems, and poems that grip. This belongs to the gripping ones. Some may prefer Tennyson's or Wordsworth's school classics. Mannheimer's story told with effective technique is to me more significant. It is poetry plus. That "plus" is the character equation, which does not detract from the beauty but rather enhances it as the crown of its being.

Poetry Plus

*They sit together and draw near
Their souls are borne down by fear
And each does at the other leer:
Is it my turn yet?*

*They do not know, what is the clock?
The pendulum forgot to rock
They're only waiting for the knock:
Is it my turn yet?*

*They sit in darkness as in a tomb;
They are themselves a part of gloom;
The first stone cracks into the room:
It is your turn now.*

An Abrupt End

You will see the poem consists of only three staccato quatrains in tetrameter with a triple rhyme, while the short refrain of each verse carries the suspense, which comes to an abrupt end, with the crash of the stone. How characteristic of our times!

Foreboding lurks in every line; and one can just imagine what was going on in poet Mannheimer's mind, when the knock of the Gestapo, established in Prague after its occupation, spelled to him, "It is your turn now." The fatality of the phrase "It is your turn now" is all the more terrible now because it applies not only to individuals but to whole states which must be on the *qui vive*, asking themselves the obsessive question, "is it our turn yet?"

"NOTHING HAS HAPPENED"

Sometimes it occurs to me that the world's grammars and dictionaries should be revised in keeping with the mouthings of Hitler, Mussolini, and their loud speakers. Why not introduce new superlative forms of arrogant, impudent, brazen, etc., by comparing these adjectives something after this fashion "arrogant, Mussolinier, Goebbelst"; "impudent, Goeringer, Hitlerst"; "mad, raving, Streicherst"? We would like to compare the adjectives, *hypocritical* and *sly*, in the same manner by introducing the names of the military Japanese clique, but the individual touch is missing there.

In true Talmudic idiom, somewhat streamlined of course to suit the age, we might say that 100 degrees of impudence have been wished on the world, of which 105 degrees went to Hitler, Goebbels, and Mussolini. "Impossible", you say? Not at all. The moment impudence touched these organisms, it increased, so that now it might be contended, again in Rabbinical style, that if you placed all the impudence of the entire world in one scale, and that of Hitler and Goebbels in the other, the latter would outweigh the former.

If proof were needed, we might only quote the gem which appeared in the newspapers of recent date in which the club-footed Propaganda Minister delivers himself of this piece of Goebbelsese.

"Nothing Has Happened"

"Nothing has happened in connection with the Reich in Europe since Adolf Hitler has taken over power in Germany which could ever have given occasion for a new war.

"For what, seriously, can it matter to the average Englishman or the average Frenchman whether Austria concludes its *Anschluss*, whether Sudetenland returns to the Reich, or whether Germany, with the consent of Prague, establishes a protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia?"

"Jews are guilty!" Goebbels said. "If at any time in Europe, during a black hour, a new war should break out, this call would have to resound over our entire continent: Jews are guilty.

"They want war and they are doing everything in their power to drive nations to war. They, themselves, do not believe that they will be the victims but the ones to profit from such a war."

It is pathetic to think that the compatriots of Kant and Schopenhauer, of Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing, of Helmholtz, Virchow, and Gauss must listen to this putrid drivel without throwing a disinfectant on it.

If Goebbels were not the hypocrite and unmitigated libeller, he might recall that the Jewish counsellors of Wilhelm Hohenzollern counselled against rash steps in 1914. There was von Dernburg who foresaw the grave danger of a coup. The martyred Walther Rathenau, to whom Germany afterwards turned to save it from financial ruin, predicted, in 1914, that Germany was heading for disaster. The ill-fated Ballon, who died of a broken heart, begged the former Kaiser not to antagonize America by a defiant, indiscriminate submarine warfare. It was Tirpitz, the very man for whom

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a new battleship was named, who carried the day and lost the decade. Were it not for the Jew, Haber, Nobel prize chemist, who was the most ingenious man in Germany, probably in the world, in creating resources, Germany would have been a suppliant before 1918. Yes, Haber was able to protract the war for Germany, but his reward after Hitler came to power was disgrace and wretchedness, resulting in death.

* * *

Of this selfsame blatant Goebbels it was related that once in the company of a British diplomat, he complained that the Jews lost the war for Germany — those d . . . Jews. "That's right," cheerfully assented the Englishman. "The Jewish generals lost the war for you."

"What do you mean?" said Goebbels. "We had no Jewish generals, no Jewish officers of any kind in Germany."

"No, no," chuckled the Englishman. "The allies had them."

Nor was this a joke; for it was General John Monash, nephew of the famous Jewish historian, Heinrich Graetz, who, according to the testimony of both Hindenburg and Ludendorff, leading his valiant Anzacs into the Marne lines, broke the backbone of the German army and caused the collapse of its whole military machine. Practically all the allied countries had their Jewish generals who distinguished themselves. Maybe the Russian army would have made a better showing than it did, if there were Jewish officers in that undisciplined conglomeration of men.

Too bad Goebbels can't blame the Jews for his club-foot, for I understand it is an inheritance — and it would be rather awkward, you know, to make some Jew the culprit.

Yes, Joe Goebbels — nothing has happened (we hope it's

"Nothing Has Happened"

a prophecy and that all the annexed territories will soon be restored to their former status) except that Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel, and now Danzig have been gobbled up. But the imminence of war is not the result even of these wanton robberies and other nefarious deeds which an appeasing weak-kneed British-French policy has connived at. The war threat looms because the hold-up man doesn't know where to stop; and even an imbecile understands that, if unchecked, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Scandinavia and France will be the next victims — and then USSR and Great Britain might be attacked.

In the event of war, the Jews have most to lose. Not only do they offer proportionally the largest number of fighting men, but as pawns in so many countries, their already unenviable fate will become unendurable.

I should not be surprised if Hitler, Goebbels, and the rest of the infernal-gang, were to impose new restrictions on their unfortunate Jews, unless the world's Jewry induced Poland to yield its independence and persuaded Chamberlain and Daladier to look the other way as they did in the case of Czechoslovakia.

"May Break Munich Pact" — Hitler

In the mysteriously censored Hitler address at Wilhelms-haven, the world was given to understand that Chamberlain's reversed attitude to the Hitler Marathon grab might destroy the Munich pact. Ye Gods, a joke like this would be expected in a revue. Too bad, the horror of the situation prohibits any hilarity.

Fiction writing is not in my province, but I am going to tell a little story suggested by the news. It will be a fable, but in a restricted sense, it is the truth which is stranger than fiction.

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A thug, while the police were dickering over their respective beats, bludgeoned a respectable man on the doorstep of his home, taking possession of his belongings. He then went to a neighboring house and shot down the residents there, occupying this house too. On his way to the police station for firearms, he was spotted by two policemen, who questioned him about the crimes. But what did the gunman say to the officers? He scowled fiercely and shouted "Say if youse guys don't lay off your persecutin' me, I'll get mad and break the law, so you better scram — and I don't mean maybe."

The characters are to be supplied by the reader; and the moral will follow as a matter of course.

* * *

P. S. 1942

Alas! How veridical this commentary, which first appeared in 1939, turned out to be.

EXILES MOST OF US

While millions of Jews are refugees or aspiring refugees, more millions are exiles. How many of us would be welcome in Germany, in what was formerly Austria, in Italy and some of the other undemocratic countries? It is sad to contemplate that beautiful countries, vast territories, are closed to us just because we happen to hold views which do not favor dictatorship with all its wanton brutality; and as wickedness continues to triumph, more of the world will be cut off from us. In a sense, we anti-Fascists (and Fascism here includes all dictatorships and semi-corporate states) are virtually restricted to a ghetto, until the reign of terror is broken, as eventually it must be if human dignity is to have any meaning.

What ironies the present world situation produces! The penitential statement in the liturgy of the High Holidays, "On account of our sins, we have been banished *from* our land" (*Umip'ney Khatoeynu*), has now been changed by the German refugees immigrating into Palestine so as to read "And because of our sins, we have been exiled *to* our land." There is more truth than jest in this witticism; for the German Jews have indeed sinned, not so much against their God as against their own people, the very people who have been so solicitous of them in their present plight.

From a London correspondent I have the astounding information, which is on record, that at the time of the Czarist

pogroms, German Jewry refused to make any representations to the German Government, in connection with Russia, on the ground that such intercession might not be politic.

I am not recalling this in order to gibbet the German Jews, but merely to bring the lesson home to some of our own standoffish Jews who believe that their inertia and silence will protect them against any storm which may sweep the world. Not even Naumann's party of German Jews of the Mosaic faith has been spared from Nazi fury. It was said facetiously that whenever these nationalistic German Jews would meet, they would cry "Down with us," simply to please Hitler, Goebbels and Co.; but even this was regarded as impudence, proving once more that only the fighting defender can be respected — not the *Mah Yoffis* Jew (the cringing tenant of the Polish baron who would be required to sing for him, and even dance, the Sabbath hymn "How beautiful").

TYPES OF GERMAN ÉMIGRÉS I HAVE MET

Until about a year ago I had read a great deal about German *émigrés*, or refugees, as they were persistently called, but had seen and spoken to no more than two or three. When a colleague of mine approached me in connection with some assistance for a few, I asked him whether there were many in Boston. He said "Oh multitudes", but to this day, I have met but few, and yet from these few I have gathered that the German *émigré* is not a single type, that you cannot make generalizations which would be true of even 70 per cent of the newcomers, that by and large they have the traits of all human beings, modified somewhat by their Jewish heredity and German tradition.

Parts Reversed

I cannot help relieving myself of a reflection at this juncture, concerning the roulette of fate which governs the vicissitudes of groups as well as individuals. In 1930, who would have exhibited such temerity as to analyze the traits of the German Jews? *They* were the investigators; all the other strands of Jewry were the subjects or *Versuchstiere*. And now the erstwhile "*Ostjude*" comes in for his innings and reverses the process. It is a phase of the relation of demand and supply, or "who calls on whom".

Fundamentally the German *émigré* is no different from

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the erstwhile Berlin, Breslau, or Köln well-intrenched and self-confident community member. The same person, uprooted and transplanted to New York, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, or Mexico, is regarded now as if he belonged to a different category, only because he happens to be a recent arrival, and in the minority. What is there that has produced the change in him? Is he different because of his new environment, or does he *appear* different because the older settlers take it for granted that there must be a disparity?

Extreme Viewpoints

I have seen descriptions of the so-called refugee collective which savor of an expeditionary report on, let us say, the South Sea Islanders. The average German *émigré* is supposed to be of such and such an age, to live on the second or third floor of an eight-apartment building, to go once a week to the movies, and call on friends, etc., *ad libitum*. We might as well say that the average American eats three times a day, sleeps from 7 to 8 hours in the 24, has a family, and listens to the radio at least once a day.

At the other extreme, there are the writers who pick out individuals. In an Anglo-Jewish weekly of some time ago, the editorial writer "gives us the low-down" on a certain couple he met.

"Talking about refugees," he tells us, "I spent a fruitless hour and a half trying to out-talk a refugee and his wife who persistently maintained that Germany was the greatest nation of all, that the Jewish question could not be considered because the Jews were not that important, that in Germany there was no unemployment, no slums, no limitation of freedom, and no fear of war. Here he was a walking denial of everything he said, yet he painfully continued to stress the unemployment here, the slums, the

Types of German Émigrés I Have Met

empty shell of what we call freedom and so on and on. And then we turned to the question of morals. 'Was Germany justified,' I practically threw it at him, 'when it took over Czechoslovakia?' Do you think he blinked an eye? 'The Czechs hated Germany, and therefore Germany was right in conquering them.' Hard-headed Dutchman! Why it is easier to convince a lion to stop eating your leg than persuade a German that 'Deutschland ueber Alles' is just a nursery rhyme."

No doubt, there are some refugees who would be so "objective" about everything that they could even abstract themselves from the sense of reality. The impression, however, is gained by the reader that all German refugees are still bloated with the glory of belonging to Germany. Is that not the grievance entertained against Jew-baiters in general, who select an objectionable Jew, or rather a *reprehensible* act, and subtly insinuate that we are dealing with a general Jewish pattern?

Some Characteristics

I did gather in my observations that German Jews tend to be overawed by authority, to the extent that even Hitler is invested with certain virtues, such as personal courage; and furthermore their admiration of German ability and efficiency renders them somewhat more fearful than the rest of the world lest the Nazis gain their objective (at least that was true until very recently). But did we not all pay homage to German scholarship, German science, German technological achievement and German thoroughness? There were many Americans, indeed, who, until the Hitler advent, regarded the Germans as the greatest of all nations. I have a sneaking suspicion that Lindbergh and quite a few isolationists still have the same admiration for Germany.

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On the other hand, I have come across German refugees to whom their very mother tongue is almost taboo. Indeed, they go so far as to decry the publishing of German newspapers in this country.

We have often heard stories of refugee physicians, accustomed to being kow-towed to in their native country and being addressed as "*Herr Professor Doktor*", grumbling over their lot as research fellows or associates in some hospital. These scientists or professionals have not yet become adjusted; and do not yet understand that in the United States, a professor is not an object of awe. There are too many of them, for one thing; and it is difficult to discriminate between the standard and the nominal professor. And then, too, there is no caste system as there is in Germany.

All Sorts and Varieties

Let us, however, assume that the group complained about will never reform. Are we to infer that most *émigré* practitioners are disgruntled and petulant? In my circumscribed sphere of experience, I have encountered arrogant Germans as well as arrogant Frenchmen and snobbish Englishmen. Those individuals who take themselves so seriously would have exhibited the same obnoxiousness even if they were not Germans, Jews, or refugees; for by way of contrast, I can point to some who have held enviable positions in Germany and have not been whining about the menial jobs they have been assigned to in their new home — work which consisted perhaps of polishing kitchenware, washing dishes, serving as nursemaid, peddling tea, addressing envelopes, separating screws and washers.

I have discovered, alongside of the aggressive and pushful class, a retiring type that is so difficult to draw out as to become a problem in the matter of securing a livelihood.

Types of German Émigrés I Have Met

The subjective type which finds a hostile attitude toward refugees everywhere is, assuredly, not to be overlooked. The hostility is only circumspection directed usually toward the particular individual who calls it forth. The person may have had a cultural upbringing in a professorial home and finds himself now being treated as a mere employee by someone who presumably is a mediocrity. To such the situation may seem unbearable. Such people will, of course, require re-education. They may learn later that there *are* cultured Americans, that not only German professors have been productive, and that when the scion of a noted American family joins the personnel of a certain firm, he works up from the bottom, and is treated in keeping with the position he is engaged for, and not according to his pedigree.

Adaptability and Initiative

Were there no special traits noted that may be common to all German *émigrés*? All I can say is that the German Jew, like the German non-Jew, seems to be endowed with remarkable adaptability, elasticity, and, in many instances, with initiative. I have marvelled at the nervous constitution of a man who, after spending about a month in a concentration camp and marked for death by a storm trooper, can laugh so heartily that his merriment drew a feeling of envy from this writer. I have often pondered why the Anglo-Jewish press with a long tradition behind it has been lagging behind while *Aufbau*, with its original articles and dozens of journalistic departments, conducted in an expert manner, has been forging ahead. The variegated advertisements in *Aufbau* are evidence of the multifarious interests and initiative of the readers. There seem to be no routine channels, no grooves, but a reaching out in all directions.

As regards initiative, it has been my observation that

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the women — often much younger than their husbands — deserve more than a niche for themselves. Their loyalty, their devotion, and their enterprise — frequently securing the release of their husbands from concentration camps as well as visas for them — are not easily paralleled in this country, although this, too, may have been a reformation, the result of tribulation.

THE ART OF GIVING

Whether you regard it as a piece of chauvinism, nationalism, or what not, I am of the opinion that the Jews are a people of philanthropists. They have long since been dubbed by themselves *Rakbmonim B'nai Rakbmonim* ("Compassionate, sons of compassionate") and there is scarcely a community in the world which does not count among its chief givers some Jews. Even the poorest Jews will give their "prutah" or mite. In Sholem Aleykhem's riotous description of the Berditchever Tramway, you will find a very poor widow who hasn't her fare, yet when beggars stopped the car to ply their trade, she gave them some coin with the gesture of one awarding a medal.

Jews as Philanthropists

It is a quip that the very speech about mercy and giving which is directed against the character who has unjustly become the symbol of greed and selfishness in all the civilized world contains the essence of Jewish communal life. When we consider the tremendous sums of money that have been collected among the Jews since the various relief agencies have been established during the first World War, when we further reflect that Palestine has been built up almost entirely on the funds raised by Jews in every country under the sun, it may well be remarked that the Jews are the most

liberal of peoples. For it must be borne in mind that in addition to carrying their own burdens, they have to contribute to divers causes of a general nature. It would not surprise me to learn that even the Spanish refugees were beholden to the Jews for a good deal of the support both during, and on the completion of, the Civil War.

That problems would arise out of this business of giving may well be expected. It has been maliciously said that in order to give, the Jews must have taken in. The answer is obviously that many people take without giving. Moreover, the proportion is a very important matter. We do not find among the Jews, fabulous fortunes left for the children to squander. It is generally the well-advised economy of the wealthy Jew which makes it possible for him to accomplish so much good with his money.

Philanthropy — An Art

But philanthropy is an art, perhaps a science too. It requires judgment, training, and experience. Anyone who assists another for no ulterior reason is a philanthropist. The greater the amount offered, and the larger the number of people to benefit from the contribution, the greater the homage paid to the donor, even if he happens to be known only as Mr. X.

There are different forms of philanthropies, different mainsprings of charity, and different motives. A man may distribute a fortune among those who have the same surname as he has, or among men and women who have red hair. Could we still call him a philanthropist? Henry Ford has spent a great deal of money on promoting the old-fashioned barn dance. He maintains various institutions connected with his motor plant; and yet, I, for one, should be chary about calling him a philanthropist.

The Art of Giving

The middle class philanthropists are those who are motivated by the personal element. Relief to the poor and the needy is what spurs them to loosening their purse-strings. This type of giving forms the mainstay of present-day charity, which has the utilitarian aspect, namely, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," or expressed somewhat differently, in its application to the subject on hand, "the least unhappiness for the greatest number." As the poet, Shimen Frug, pleaded:

*Git di toite oif takbrikhim
Un di lebedike broit.*

*(Give, so shrouds will wrap the dead
Give ye to the living, bread)*

The higher philanthropists, if I may use that adjective in such connection, are those who give to *causes*. It is not the concrete so much as the abstract which appeals to them. There is something intangible in setting aside a foundation for an educational institution or a publication, in maintaining an art museum, or a library.

Causes and Persons

John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie (although he is said to have exploited his workers shamefully), Andrew Mellon, Jacob Schiff, Louis Bamberger, Lucius Littauer and Colonel Friedsam, belong to this class. In the long run, contributions to causes help individuals too (and I don't mean exactly the job holders) or rather humanity. How much suffering has been prevented or alleviated through the establishment of research centers for the study of certain diseases!

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American Jewry thus far counts few philanthropists in this category, but their number is growing rapidly. It takes some intellectual progress before this point of view is reached. In Europe, Jews have been noted for their munificent gifts to causes of a cultural nature. In 1930, I remember seeing a plaque in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris which bore the names of the supporters of the famous library during its crisis. There may have been a dozen names of which eight or more were those of Jews, headed of course by Rothschild.

Litigation With God

This discussion is the result of a stimulating talk with Eddie Cantor, who has in addition to other charitable acts, raised \$550,000 toward the rescue of Jewish refugee children from Nazi claws, and is on his way to attaining the million mark. Most of these children are to be settled in Palestine. Reb Levi Yitzkhok Berditchever, the colorful wonder-rabbi, who would plead with God on behalf of the Jews, in Yiddish, would say to the *Ribbono shel-Olom* apropos of Eddie Cantor, "You see *Gotteniu*, what sort of people the Jews are. Their very comedians are philanthropists and are worshipping you through the gate of charity."

Eddie Cantor's Dilemma

Mr. Cantor is, however, becoming aware of dark clouds. Unfair charges that he is too partial have been spreading; and in order not to give his enemies a semblance of a cause for slander, he is universalizing his philanthropies. Gentile students, Catholic refugee children will be the beneficiaries now; and, as he thinks, it will be for the good of the Jews; since such Jewish endeavors on behalf of non-Jews will pre-

The Art of Giving

sumably take the wind out of the anti-Semitic sails. It was at this point that I could not see eye to eye with Mr. Cantor — not because our eyes or nervous systems are built differently, he being the Basedow type and I the tetanoid, according to E. R. Jaensch's classification, and both of us probably being lumped as the S-type, since Jaensch¹ has become Hitler's laureate psychologist.

I may have overstated the extent of my disagreement, since Mr. Cantor, among other things, writes me good-naturedly "whether you agree with my policy or not doesn't actually matter. The day I left Boston I had a nice talk with Louis Kirstein and he does. So do many Jews and Christians of this country. I believe it is wise for me to go along the lines which have been laid down for me by these leaders and my conscience until the future may convince you of the wisdom of my campaign."

Let me state briefly that it is not Cantor's stepping out of the sectarian line that I call into question, but rather the belief which he seems to entertain that unless he begins to make up for his seeming partialities, there are hard times in store for the Jews in these States.

Now hardly anyone would urge that the Jews must take care only of their own causes. Julius Rosenwald spent millions of dollars on the improvement of the Negro. Joel Elias Spingarn, who died recently, also devoted the latter part of his life to the cause of the Negro. Far from disparaging these benefactors, we sincerely admire them. Catholic Niagara University was about to close its doors when a Jew brought it out of the red. Father Flanagan's Boystown project, I read recently, was made possible through the generosity of a Jewish friend. Many a Y.M.C.A. institution, yes, and even churches were built partly with Jewish funds.

1) E. R. Jaensch died recently.

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No criticism need be attached to these contributors, provided, of course, they do not ignore the wants of their own people.

Amalgamation Hard on Jews

It has been urged at times that Jews and non-Jews work together on a co-operative basis. Co-operation is, to be sure, desirable and possible in many matters, but in the refugee issue, it is forgotten that 70 per cent of European refugees are Jews, that the Jews are subject to the sadistic fury of the ever-expanding Nazis, that the Jews further have no country to go to, in a word that their plight is most miserable; and that therefore they require more attention and more funds. Let us understand once and for all that Jewish communal leaders need not apologize for their endeavors to the outside world. If the hounded Jews do not receive their aid, they will simply perish. If the Jews will not concentrate on helping them, then who will? That is something to keep in mind all the time.

The Friends, sometimes referred to as Quakers, have been the only group of non-Jews who have not only broadcast their report of conditions in Nazi Germany and annexes, but who have actually brought succor to the Jews in those regions, and have even placed Jewish refugees in their own institutions — and all that without fanfares or publicity. If there is a sect which is 100% worthy of its name, it is the Society of Friends.

Wasted Efforts

As for appeasing Jew-baiters through scholarships, contributions to certain organizations, etc., it is my firm conviction that such efforts are worse than useless, and perhaps positively harmful. If I am not a leader such as Mr.

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Cantor has in mind, maybe my knowledge of Jewish history and lore, my familiarity with social psychology, and acquaintance with the current political situation, especially as it affects the Jews, will entitle me to a voice on this question. The official leaders of German Jewry were lamentably wanting in dealing with the Nazi menace at the time Hindenburg was in power.

It is a waste of money and energy to try and convert Pelley, Thorkelson, Winrod, or Bessie Burchett. I still contend that anti-Semites of that sort are constitutional Jew-baiters. It is part of their game. Some like to shoot ducks; some deer; others must take their shot at a defenseless Jew.

Enlightenment — Our Salvation

What does appear advisable is to undertake an *enlightenment* campaign on a grand scale. The *B'nai B'rith* order is doing excellent work in its anti-defamation course, but we might have a real counter-propaganda organization, in which the activities of the same sort carried on by the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Congress, and the *B'nai B'rith* are co-ordinated. If the General Jewish Council is that organization, we do not know it. As a counter-propaganda proposition it seems inarticulate, if not actually dormant. Enlightenment should start in the public schools. Young boys and girls are as amenable to truth and justice as they are to Nazi and Fascistic philosophies.

If Mr. Cantor is afraid that the Jews will be exterminated, let him read the Prophets, let him look into Jewish history and see what happened during the Crusades, during the fifteenth century and the sixteenth century; furthermore, let him reflect upon the character of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, the texture of the American make-up and its principles, and he will visualize a brighter prospect.

IRONIES OF 1939¹

Of course we have all had one puzzle or another put to us dealing with marriage relations, *e.g.*, a man marrying his stepdaughter, or his daughter-in-law. He is a grandfather to his own son, or father-in-law to himself, etc. These relations become too involved for the ordinary mind. The treaty between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia promises to be one of those complicated puzzles which none of us may solve.

For one thing we find that USSR has joined the anti-Comintern axis, but the anti-Comintern pact has been drawn up against Soviet Russia, therefore Soviet Russia has joined a pact against itself. Well, for that matter is it any more absurd than her selling manganese to Nazi Germany, knowing full well that it is likely to be put to use in the production of ammunition against the very vendor? Is it any less reasonable than selling oil to Italy in her Ethiopian campaign? For that matter, is it any more of a boner than for the United States to have been selling scrap iron and other war materials to Japan?

It is difficult to label exactly what had transpired recently after a good deal of conspiring. It does not belong to the *frolics* or the *vanities*. Even to class it under the

1) This article first appeared immediately after the Soviet-German Pact became known.

follies would understate it; for every move, or rather failure to move, on the part of the democratic countries since Hitler's fortification of the Rhine was a folly compounded of stupidity; and as to *scandals*, it is a word too tame to employ after the non-intervention pact with regard to Spain. We have exhausted all the revue labels. Perhaps the most appropriate designation is, after all, the ancient Greek figure of speech "Ironia". There are, naturally, degrees of irony; and the affiliation of the red and the brown, the Ham-Sick and the Swastika, belongs to those historical ironies which at times make us feel that there were some evil Power enjoying a grand spectacle at the expense of the human ants on this little planet.

The Transformation of Attitudes

The Soviet-Nazi pact affords us an interesting experiment in social psychology. How expediency changes the whole aspect of things! This sequel is one of the most eloquent commentaries on the rottenness of our whole international political system. Once the pact became a *fait accompli*, the minions of both Hitler and Stalin began to change their tune, at least the words of the tune. Suddenly Fritz Kuhn and his gang became aware of the fact that it was not communism as such that was repugnant to the decent world but international communism. It is like voicing one's feeling not against the bear, but against the cubs that roam around. Earl Browder, on the other hand, had just as unexpectedly seen a great light, namely that the non-aggression and trade treaty would serve to strengthen world peace and encourage Poland in her stand against Hitler. The ancient rabbinical doctor who invented the phrase "*M'taer Sheretz b'kan ta'amim*" (i.e., making a reptile "kosher" by advancing 150 reasons) could certainly

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not have chosen a better example than the Browder-Kuhn legitimatization process.

To mention Browder in the same breath as Kuhn is pretty hard on the former, I know, but in this one instance they seem to converge to the same centre, although from different directions.

The periodic denunciations of the Reds by Goebbels will now cease; or at least they may be directed at the Trotskyists alone; and now possibly all Jews will be re-grouped by the loud speaker of Nazidom as Trotskyists. As to earlier statements made by Goebbels and Hitler about Stalin and the present Commissars, we may expect the usual political amnesia.

The World's a Dance

We may have long since accepted the conclusion that the "world's a stage", but for our statesmen (so-called) the world seems to be a dance, with a constant change of partners. How else can it be, when there is not a grain of sincerity in all the pacts and treaties? Whether they are for ten, twenty, or thirty years, they are only scraps of paper. When governments are run on the basis of what is enthusiastically called "realism", but what fundamentally is nothing other than shady bargaining, without the least scruples, such as an average individual would be weighed down with, what else could be the consequence? An ordinary person of any decency, if he is rebuffed in his overtures, will not make common cause with an outlaw. Soviet Russia and Germany, however, although sworn enemies, *ab initio*, run into each other's arms in fond embrace, at the first opportunity. And now there is talk of Great Britain turning to Japan for its dancing partner.

A Word for the Soviet

In justice to the USSR, we must not forget that the democratic countries have not been without fault and that they were making pacts with Hitler without causing so much as a murmur, that Russia strenuously opposed the Munich Pact, that furthermore she was not treated courteously by Chamberlain, that she has always to fear the possibility that a British-German pact would bring her into a state of dangerous isolation — in other words, the same attitude of distrust operated here as among barbarian tribes. There was a time, not so long ago, when the USSR offered to defend Czechoslovakia against German invasion, but then Poland chose to close its borders for such assistance to a helpless state, little dreaming perhaps that its turn might be next.

Khad-Gadia

In this "House-that-Hitler-built" affair, we come upon the old *Khad-Gadia* sequence. It was not such a nursery fairy story, after all. The international political game in recent years, which any hour now may turn Europe into a shambles, reminds us once more of the coming of the Angel of Death who slew the slaughterer that killed the ox that . . . struck the dog which bit the cat that ate the kid, etc. It would be interesting, from a psychological angle, to ascertain the feelings of the Czechs, who, when hard pressed by Hitler, were served warning by the Poles and the Hungarians to cede large tracts of territory, otherwise they would be attacked. How different the picture might have been had the Poles come to the aid of a sister republic, which had risen out of the same circumstances and was of the same general stock. Certainly the world would have sympathized more genuinely with the Poles in their hour

of distress, had Poland not taken advantage of Czechoslovakia's plight a year previous. And then again, had not Czechoslovakia, at the beginning of her career, insisted on the annexation of Teschen, Poland might have been less vindictive today. Until statesmen and governments operate with the instruments of individual morality and are guided by the principles of justice, there can never be any hope of universal peace. The great surprise to me is that at least the lesser states do not learn their lesson, and still indulge in the "dog-eat-dog" policy.

The Wolf Pleads for Justice

Hitler's letter to Daladier is a clear indication that the man knows he can bluff no longer. In ex-King Zog's language, the "mad dog" is coming to his senses and the "d----d fools" are beginning to see light. Before these words are in print, the lighted match may touch the dynamite keg.

Hitler's plea to Daladier has been praised by Kaltenborn and others as shrewd and sincere. This is not evident to me. Let me put the matter in plain language. A hijacker had been making a practice to attack tradespeople on the road and despoil them of their wares. On one occasion, the hijacker was solemnly warned that the leaders of the guild would fight him without fail, if he persisted in his practice.

The hijacker, armed to the teeth, came out to plead that just this one time he must have his way — just this once. Otherwise the blood will fall on their head for making him use his weapons. They ought to be glad and thankful that he did not hijack the leaders, as he might have liked to do; and besides whatever robberies he has carried out, he has done absolutely without bloodshed. (This is a downright falsehood, because the annexation of Austria and

of Czechoslovakia *did* cost the lives of thousands in the form of prison deaths, arbitrary shootings, and suicides, reaching even into America) and should they not be thankful that he has saved them the trouble of deciding what to do, for example, whether to oppose him, since it was a sleek job; in other words, he "pulled a fast one" on them? Yes, ladies and gentlemen, that is what the letter to Daladier amounts to. He has nothing against the brave French. It is those terrible Poles, who will not give him Danzig and the Corridor, without arbitration, that he cannot endure.

He further speaks of the tolerance he has shown in not demanding Alsace and Lorraine. (Oh, no? Just wait and see, if he gets Danzig. Two years ago he wanted only the Sudeten area). He still keeps talking about the grievances of the Versailles Treaty, as if Germany were not larger now than at the time the World War broke out. How can any commentator say that it was a shrewd letter, or that it was in the least sincere? If Hitler, the man whose avowed philosophy is to propagate lies; and the bigger the lie the better, so as to befuddle the masses — if such an individual is sincere, then "Lepke" Buchalter is sincere, and Dillinger was a font of honesty. Perhaps Kaltenborn means that Hitler's appeal was what women call "cute".

When Hitler tells Daladier that Poland's cause will be lost in any case, he is simply trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the whole world, just as when he made the astounding statement that "many clear-sighted statesmen in Europe" believe that all his rapacious acts were just. (Who are they? Goering, Mussolini and Ciano.) Certainly, if Hitler suffers defeat on the battlefield, Poland's independence is assured, and Germany's fate is problematic.

I am often buttonholed by people who suppose that I know more than they do about eventualities, *e.g.*, whether there is going to be a war. Let me say that even Hitler

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doesn't know at the moment I am writing this, whether the conflict will break out. At any rate, a war for Germany means not only fighting Britain, France, and Poland, but the Czechs, the Austrians, and Germany's own anti-Nazi elements as well; while Italy's part in the game is not fully clear. Better, even if the fighting forces on the two sides should be about evenly balanced, the difference in the financial situation and the morale between the aggressors and the countries on the defensive is such that the defense scale "kicks the beam".

PLAINTIVE INTERLUDE

The material included in several chapters dealing with the background and policies of communism will probably arouse in some quarters a feeling that the author is inimical to the USSR — at a time when even the sworn foes of communism are disciplining themselves in the art of appeasement.

May I say then, at the outset, that "some of my best friends" etc., that I, in common with every liberal-minded person, am thrilled by the heroism of the Russian soldiers, as well as civilians, that I am fully in accord with every movement to aid the USSR in her struggle with the Nazis, that I did not hesitate to subscribe to the manifesto issued by a group of American intellectuals in response to the appeal made by a number of Soviet writers and artists, that I can even find something to say in defense of the Soviet-Nazi pact. In fact I have made this plain in the preceding chapter.

Comparatively Speaking

Nay more, the ultimatum for Finnish bases, culminating in the invasion of Finland, assuming that the Soviet Government anticipated a possible attack by Germany, may not appear as aggressive as it was first thought to be; for did not England violate the terms of the Syrian Protectorate

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when it was a case of life and death with her? On a large political scale, USSR has not shown herself in any worse light than some of the democratic countries.

Perhaps the sad purges of communist pioneers will occur to us as a truculent series of acts; but there too, once it is established that the accused were plotting against Stalin, even if the other charges of treason were untrue, it stands to reason that scarcely anyone else in Stalin's place would, under the circumstances, show much leniency. It is doubtful whether Trotsky, in the same position, would not have proscribed Stalin. Has he not, as War Commissar, ruled with an iron heel in his day?

When an influential man, like Sir Roger Casement, who had performed notable service on behalf of his country, was guilty of treason, not all the pleas of distinguished men in Great Britain and abroad were of avail; and the death sentence was carried out.

These are all *argumenta ad hominem*, I am aware, yet that is the only way "realistic" policies can be evaluated; for there can be no question of right or wrong, except in the light of what other states do. On the positive side, we have to record that in no other country is anti-Semitism considered a felony, and that the cultural minorities enjoy full equality in all of USSR, where the accident of birth is not branded as a stigma.

Where USSR Justice is Vulnerable

In two respects, however, the USSR has been much closer to Nazi policy and methods; and that is in dealing not with states or peoples but with individuals. In other words, to my mind, the *Ogpu* (or *Gepeu*) and the *Gestapo* have much in common; and the rights of the individual in the judicial machinery are almost nil in both Nazi Germany

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and Communistic Russia. It fills one with horror to think that a citizen in a foreign country could be removed by the secret police of an invading state and apprehended on the rumor that his son had, some time before, shown opposition to the ideology of the invading government.

There is a terrorist element even in the practice of seizing *USSR citizens*, on the slightest pretext, and keeping them incommunicado. Thus, a man may have written notes of a literary character to friends abroad, or he may have been unfortunate enough to supervise a few inefficient workers. We may perhaps recall that Litvinov had fallen from grace because he could not convince the British Tories that Soviet policy was beneficial for England. What Litvinov had accomplished for USSR, what Litvinov had endured for USSR (internment and imprisonment in England in reprisal for the imprisonment of some British engineers in Russia) Litvinov's personal sacrifice to aid Lenin and Stalin just prior to the Bolshevik revolution — all that had been forgotten; and some were beginning to wonder whether Litvinov was to meet the tragic fate of his fellow-diplomat, Adolf Yoffe, in Paris, a number of years ago.

Perhaps the worst feature of Soviet justice is that often the accused is left to languish for years in a dungeon; and no one seems courageous enough to inquire about the nature of the charge. And if an inquiry comes from abroad, either there is a haughty reply to the effect that the matter will be taken up in due course, or else the nonchalant information is given that the whereabouts of the individual are unknown. That has happened in the case of the late Chief Rabbi of Warsaw, Professor Moses Schorr, and the Bund leaders, Henryk Erlich and Viktor Alter, who were re-arrested recently after gaining their release.

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Universal Public Opinion Does Not Count

One might think that the penal system in USSR were so lax that the prisoners make their get-away without afterwards becoming identified. Fancy a man like Dr. Schorr eluding all the Soviet agencies; and only after the most insistent representations on the part of the now friendly Polish government, was the Soviet secret police able to ascertain that Senator Dr. Schorr died *somewhere* while he was being sought.

We have never been able to discover what precisely Dr. Schorr's crime consisted in. He was an eminent rabbi, one who could have saved himself by fleeing with a number of Polish cabinet ministers, but he chose to minister to his people in Warsaw. How could this impressive scholar and spiritual leader have sinned against the USSR regime? And why must the nature of this sin be withheld from the world?

Another point of incidence with the Nazi judicial system, although not nearly in so cruel a degree, is the barbarous custom of regarding relatives as hostages. The Nazis, of course, go much farther, in that they make the whole national group or community responsible for each other. If a Frenchman shoots a Nazi, then a hundred Parisians might die. This wanton murder can serve no purpose whatever except to release the vengeful and sadistic impulse in the Nazi officials. In USSR, the kin might suffer for the indiscretions of Soviet citizens, or, indeed, even outsiders.

Have we, living outside of USSR, any interest in Soviet justice? If not, then why bother with the cruelties in Nazidom? Have we a right to discuss the subject? Certainly no less than the demonstrators in Moscow and Leningrad at the time of the Sacco-Vanzetti trial. If Sacco and Vanzetti had been sentenced in USSR — and, being anarchists, they would not have been treated with kid gloves, even if

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they had done nothing else than to propagate their doctrines — the Soviet authorities would be quite annoyed at protests coming from abroad.

Absolutism of the Gepu

As regards the sanctity of the individual, the right to be declared innocent until one's guilt had been established, the Soviet legal system has not yet reached the stage of the Magna Charta. *Habeas Corpus* — what a world of comfort and protection resides in these two words, and how unfortunate the men and women in USSR must be if that provision does not apply to them to the full extent, no matter how liberal their constitution might be in other respects. One might almost say facetiously that the "bill of lefts" is opposed to the "bill of rights".

If the humblest man in the Soviet Republics is not safe against the arbitrary long arm of the *Gepu*, if mere suspicion or slander may cut off one's career or life, then there is no freedom nor justice in the USSR. If publicists, attorneys, scientists, and officials are afraid to so much as intercede for a man whom the *Gepu* has pounced upon, then with all the heroism the Red Army is exhibiting, there is something amiss. Let us hail its victories, let us express our admiration for the courage and strategy of its commanders, including Stalin. At the same time, let us bear in mind, even in this hour of indebtedness to the USSR, when condoning and appeasement are the accepted form, that you cannot reasonably seek freedom elsewhere and destroy it in your own country. The case of one man, Captain Dreyfus, was enough to stir up the whole world. The French judicial system — a branch of the French government — recognized its egregious blunder after five years. We do not know that the Soviet system ever admits that it,

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or, better, the *Gepu*, has been forehanded in its arrests. If you tell me that this is not the time to make such demands, I answer "Now, tomorrow, and at all times is it incumbent upon us to cry out on behalf of liberty and justice". Our aid to Russia, in her winning struggle, need not thereby be stinted. More power to her — and also more freedom!

ARRESTING A LITERATURE

I have often been asked which is the most monumental Jewish work written by a single person in recent years. It is no easy task to answer such a question, for this is a matter of selecting the one out of many thousands of books. A wag might expect me to reply facetiously, "The best work is the one that has not yet been written," but we shall not go so far, and merely say that the most monumental work by a single author is one that has not yet been completed, although the tenth volume has come off the press; and as to the question whether it will be completed, only God and Stalin's *Ogpu* know; for the author, Dr. Israel Tzinberg, has been languishing in a Soviet prison for at least three years, that is, if he is still alive today; since no word has been received from the Soviet government as to his condition or whereabouts.

Greatest Literary Product in Decades

The work which I have marked out for unique distinction happens to be, appropriately enough, in Yiddish; and the title of it is *Di Geshikhte fun der Literatur bei Yidn* (History of the Literature of the Jews).

There are of course many histories or surveys of Jewish literature, devoted to Hebrew literature for the most part. In this connection, we are reminded of Gustav Karpeles,

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Israel Abrahams, M. Waxman, and the greatest of them all, Moritz Steinschneider, whose catalogue of Yiddish and Hebrew books in the Bodleian Library still entitles him to be regarded as the bibliographer *par excellence*, at least of the nineteenth century. The catalogue was indeed a monumental work, but Tzinberg's *History* is on a higher level because it requires less of a technical apparatus and more of a synthetic process. Steinschneider was a giant in his own field — a colossus, we might say, whom none has approached since — but in a sense he reminds us of one-eyed Cyclops. At any rate he never saw the forest because of the trees.

A literature is more than an inventory of books and authors and dates. It is a dynamic field of social, economic, political and psychological forces. Steinschneider was too much the recluse, the attic scholar, to reckon with the conditions which underlay the writings that took his attention. I am pointing out Steinschneider's limitations because I know many of my scholarly readers in different parts of the country will resent my placing a contemporary author above the genius of bibliography. There is in reality no comparison between the two, just as we cannot compare the specialist on *materia medica* and the surgeon or diagnostician.

The Man Tzinberg

The majority of my readers have never heard the name Tzinberg before, yet the man is one of the most remarkable figures in contemporary Jewry. You would naturally think that the man who has undertaken to write a history of Jewish literature in possibly fifteen volumes would belong to the writers' guild. In reality he is a chemist by profession. For the last thirty years or so he had been engaged as the

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director of the immense Putilov plant in St. Petersburg, Petrograd and Leningrad. The three different names of the former Russian capital are mentioned symbolically; for we may thereby realize what sort of character Tzinberg must have been to have maintained his position throughout the turmoil and upheavals of the Revolution, and what he has had to endure, considering especially that his plant was second cousin to a munitions factory.

While carrying on his very exacting work as chief of the plant, he utilized all his spare time in furthering the interests of Yiddish literature in a most Russified community. He wrote at first on cultural subjects, principally in Russian, but also in Hebrew, then in Yiddish; edited a number of publications and even functioned as an amateur publisher.

His works in Russian alone would have afforded him an enviable place in the annals of literary history, but in 1915, while the world was wrapped in a war conflagration, Tzinberg mapped out his life-work — "The History of Jewish Literature." At first he composed in Russian, but after the first four volumes were completed, he became aware that Yiddish was the logical language for such a work, and he thereby raised the status of the despised Jargon; for Tzinberg used first-hand sources; and each volume shows the painstaking research of this chemist by day and *littérateur* by night — a dual personality which would have wearied the most robust constitution.

That, however, was not the worst of his troubles. Tzinberg had a stable character, which would not be dislodged because of political events. He had always been with the masses, but did not, like many of his colleagues, cry "*Le roi est mort! Vive le roi!*" And that was sufficient to incur the suspicion and the wrath of those who erstwhile had been more conservative than he. When he submitted his manuscript to the chief of the Jewish department (Yevseks) for

publication in the USSR, the fact of his preoccupation with Hebrew literature was against him, and he was forced to seek a publisher elsewhere. Only after the first few volumes of the work had been published in Wilno and created a stir in the literary world, did the Soviet authorities realize that a gem was discarded as worthless. The attitude toward Hebrew literature has changed since, perhaps due to this incident, since a large and definitive edition of the Hebrew poets in Mediaeval Spain is under way in the USSR.

Meanwhile, Tzinberg was respected by the Soviet Government because of his efficiency and conscientiousness, in spite of the fact that he had been employed in the service of the Czarist regime; and indeed Tzinberg had earned the esteem of all who had come in contact with him. His arrest was a great shock to all who knew anything about him, and a decided, though as yet not irretrievable, blow to the literature of the Jews. In a brief note which I had from him more than a year ago,¹ he told me how my volume *Peretz, Psychologist of Literature* just happened to come opportunely when he was about to cover that period in his *History*. My acknowledgment of this letter drew no further reply, and I began to wonder whether the missive, together with my *Curiosities of Yiddish Literature*, had miscarried. Alas, the matter was a good deal worse; for there was a more serious miscarriage. . . . The man was arrested apparently under the usual charge of sabotage. In Soviet Russia, any chief is responsible for what goes on in the various departments under his charge; and if a certain amount of work is not turned out, then the head is accused and apprehended. A recent article, however, by a generally well-informed writer on Soviet-Jewish affairs informs us that

1) That was in 1937

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Tzinberg's great sin for which he was jailed consisted in corresponding with non-communistic Jewish writers abroad.

Fate Against A Literature

It is an irony that while Yiddish literature is said to thrive in the USSR as nowhere else, and is on an equal footing with Russian literature, in that the publications are brought out by the Government, some of the chief lights of this literature have been incarcerated. Yiddish literature has had more of a setback in the USSR than in any other country within the last ten years. The death of Nokhem Shtiff had removed the most energetic Yiddishist, the finest stylist, and most skillful text investigator Yiddish literature has had. Shtiff died in his early fifties, and there is no one to replace him.

The imprisonment of Max Erik, who was the first to write a history of Yiddish literature in Yiddish and who was one of the chief authorities on old Yiddish books, on the ground, so far as I could make out, that he was at one time a friend of a man who turned out to be a Polish spy, was a real tragedy, particularly to Yiddish literature. Erik had been a resident of Danzig, and I remember with what enthusiasm he had written me when he was given the opportunity of advancing his researches in old Yiddish in Minsk, where he was professor of Yiddish literature at the White Russian Institute (later in the Institute at Kiev).

Litvakov

Moishe Litvakov, who died several months ago in a Soviet dungeon, was, in many respects, a more outstanding personality than either of those referred to above. He was not only one of the foremost critics in the USSR, writing both in Yiddish and in Russian, but he was also editor of

important journals and of the influential daily *Emes*, an author of unusual force, a theoretician of radicalism, a promoter of the Yiddish theatre, a scholar and Talmudist, and latterly a fanatical atheist and anti-religious campaigner. The stormy petrel of revolutionary parties, he persecuted almost with a Calvinist zeal all those who showed the slightest dissension, and ended up by being himself disgraced and convicted on the usual charges. A man possessing the fire of genius but afflicted with a tempestuous spirit, he lacked the stability or character shown by Dr. Israel Tzinberg; and nearly all who have written about him outside of the USSR agreed that he was an opportunist very much in the vein of Karl Radek. To Yiddish literature, however, the loss of Litvakov is incalculable, even if his productivity was beginning to wane.

Can Tzinberg Be Saved?

It is futile to lose much energy over that which cannot be recovered. There are some scholars and writers, like Professor Liberberg, who because of their definite political affiliations and direct governmental tutelage are beyond our endeavors. Not so Tzinberg. Since he took no part whatever in politics, there is perhaps some hope of seeing him released after the facts are disentangled. But what measures can be taken to intercede for him, especially as the Soviet Government is rigid in its course?

The American branch of the Yiddish Scientific Institute has appealed to the Associated Press for information, but apparently without success. I have thought of interesting on behalf of our Dr. Tzinberg, to whom every intelligent Jew is beholden, a person no less than the venerable Romain Rolland; and recently I wrote him as follows:

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"Having had some correspondence with you before, in connection with the projected Freud *Festschrift*, I make bold to put before you a matter in behalf of which you, in your lifelong battle in the cause of justice, will think it within your jurisdiction to exert your prestige; and I know your influence will be of the greatest value in at least bringing to an early trial the man who has given the world a monumental history of Jewish literature to be completed in 15 volumes. The person is Dr. Israel Tzinberg of Leningrad, a distinguished chemist serving the government in a strictly scientific manner and one who from the beginning of the Revolution had steeled himself to the ordeal of living exclusively in his scientific and literary work. He had not written to his dearest friends abroad because he wanted to be absolutely certain that no suspicion could ever fall on him. The Soviet government respected his conscientious and efficient work as director of one of the greatest chemical plants in Leningrad, and he has published volume after volume of this great work which rivals the classic histories of literature in other languages.

"His arrest is undoubtedly due to some misunderstanding; for as you know, a man who does not commit himself politically sooner or later arouses the ire of zealots, especially as he had served, as a chemist, the pre-revolutionary government; and now he has been languishing many months in prison, before his plight became known to the outside world.

"Can not the International Pen Club, stimulated by your representations, take up the cudgels and make some inquiries in his behalf? The esteem and reverence in which you are held in the USSR par-

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ticularly, would place you in a position close enough at least to ascertain on what ground Dr. Tzinberg had been incarcerated. It is probably believed that his sympathies are with the bourgeoisie, but in his history, he reveals himself a champion of the people.

"Surely the fate of this colleague, who has been living like a Nazarite devoted to his tremendous task, this gifted author, who has contributed to Russian, German, and Hebrew, but mainly to Yiddish literature, who had denied himself, in his rigid purpose to complete his life work, the most elementary communion with friends, must be of interest to you.

"If you will have some Jewish writer in Paris tell you about the ten volumes of this history which have already appeared, you will understand what his life and freedom mean to literature in general and Yiddish and Hebrew literature in particular.

"Since I do not know your Paris address, I am sending this, with my earnest entreaty and warmest greetings of the season, as well as heartiest birthday wishes, to your former address.

"Sincerely yours,

A. A. ROBACK"

Romain Rolland Replies

My appeal to Romain Rolland, the literary conscience of a generation, did not remain unanswered; his response was prompt, and yet, from the circumstances of the case, not too encouraging.

The famous novelist and biographer wrote that though he would like to do something in the matter, his efforts in similar cases, since the death of his friend, Maxim Gorky, have been unheeded. He gave me, however, the names and

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addresses of two influential persons who might be in a better position to do something about Tzinberg — one living in Paris, the other in Moscow. One might imagine that I lost no time in addressing my plea to M. Jules Romains, the President of the International Pen Club, and Mme. Stassova, Editor-in-chief of *International Literature*, a quality monthly published in USSR.

Neither of the two acknowledged my letters. M. Jules Romains, who is at present in the United States, has lately had a good deal of explaining to do for his alleged apathy in other connections; while Mme. Stassova thought it evidently wiser, under the circumstances, to ignore the letter.

Since the publication of my original articles on Tzinberg, a committee for his defense had formed in New York. From the circular letter, which this committee issued, we learn something about the methods in vogue in Soviet Russia relative to information about political prisoners.

“When the report of his arrest reached us, we refused to believe it. A number of American friends telegraphed to the Leningrad address where he had been living for over thirty years and were informed that the whereabouts of Dr. Zinberg¹ were unknown. An Associated Press correspondent, in Leningrad, who made inquiries was given the same evasive reply.

“Since then, all efforts of Dr. Zinberg’s American friends and admirers to reach him or to ascertain where he is and why he has disappeared, have proved of no avail. Reluctantly we have been forced to the conclusion that the elderly scholar is under arrest and being held incommunicado.

“We are organizing a committee of prominent

1) The German spelling of the name has been adopted by some writers.

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American writers, artists, scientists, scholars — Jews and non-Jews — to work for the release of Dr. Tzinberg. It is a non-political, non-partisan committee.”

I learned afterwards that the committee did not pursue its objective because it was thought that the slightest intercession on behalf of Tzinberg would only aggravate matters for him. This sounds incredible to us, in our naïve conception of fair play. If, say, Upton Sinclair were arrested here for no assigned reason, and some of his admirers in USSR were to cable for information, the case against him should then, by the same token, be clinched without further evidence — and woe betide the accused. I have consistently refused to credit such stories; but, on the other hand, there have been no denials forthcoming from the other side; and the facts point in the direction of the rumors circulated, that is, the inexorableness of Soviet justice, or rather its administration, to the undoing of the individual apprehended.

Meanwhile, I have discovered that Tzinberg's name is better known than I had supposed.

An American rabbi writes me as follows:

“For a number of years now I have been watching with great eagerness for the completion of his work and awaiting the volumes as they came out. Although I have not read the volumes through consecutively or in detail, I have been greatly impressed with the importance of their being translated into English. Several years ago a personal friend of Tzinberg's urged me to translate it and assured me that he could get the translation rights. When I spoke with my former professor, Dr. Israel Davidson, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, he was delighted with the project.

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"It is a monumental work, which requires a tremendous amount of energy and time to present properly. It seems to me that it is best that a group of men form themselves into a Board of Editors to translate the work in constant collaboration with one another."

Others have expressed the same wish, but — here we are reminded of the old feline question, *Vi kumt di katz ibern vasser?* (How is the cat going to get across the river?) It seems that first of all we must organize into a money-finding Board rather than into an Editorial Board, or else we might have a variant of Pirandello's title — this time reading "*Twelve Volumes in Search of a Publisher*". We know how difficult it is for one volume, if it is scholarly, to see the light of day. Multiply the extent of the difficulty not by 12 but by 24, and you will gain an idea of what it means to set in operation the machinery for tackling Tzinberg's *History of Jewish Literature*. Our main concern should be with the endeavor to bring about the release of the author, so that he could complete his life work — the greatest Jewish literary venture by a single individual in decades.

Zalmen Reizin

The case of Zalmen Reizin, Yiddish editor, grammarian, compiler of the encyclopedic *Lexicon of Yiddish Literature*, and Director of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, is even more pitiable; for Reizin was a citizen of Poland at the time the Red Army occupied Wilno in 1940; and his attitude had been sympathetic toward Soviet achievement. Unlike other prominent Wilno men, who were known to be inimical toward the Soviet ideology and found it necessary to escape to Latvia or Lithuania, he stayed at the Institute

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to receive the commissars who were expected to make their appearance at any moment.

It must have come, therefore, like a deadly bolt from the sky to the relatives and thousands of friends and admirers of the Yiddish literary investigator when they were apprised of Reizin's arrest and transfer to White Russia. To this day, those interested in the case have not been able to discover the reason for the seizure, although it had been whispered that Reizin's young son at one time had expressed himself in favor of those communist pioneers who had been executed in the sensational purge, several years ago, but is it possible to conceive that in an enlightened age, a man would be cast into a dungeon because his son, living in another state, had, some years prior to the conquest of this state, shown his disapproval of executions in a foreign country?

The last report, which came by way of France, speaks of Reizin's death. The very thought that the genial Zalmen Reizin, whose service to Yiddish literature has not yet received its due appraisal, is dead from maltreatment plunges us into a state of depression. Reizin, at the time of his arrest, was working steadfastly on the revision and enlargement of his *Lexicon of Yiddish Literature*, which would have been complete in seven or eight quarto volumes, in double column, as well as on a number of other literary projects.

Soviet Penal Efficiency

Incidentally, a word must be said about the thoroughness of the Soviet penal system. Under the Czarist regime, even such revolutionaries as participated in plots against the Czar sometimes managed to escape from prison, as witness the almost miraculous flight of the semi-legendary Gershuni. Indeed, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, and hundreds of others

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made their get-away, though arrested more than once. Under the Soviet administration, every prisoner probably thinks of the inscription over Dante's *Inferno*. I have not heard of any on whom a shadow of suspicion has fallen to have been released. What we do find eventually is a bare news item reporting the death of Litvakov, Rabbi Moses Schorr, Dr. Gottlieb, Esther Frumkin, or some other personality who had been imprisoned only a few months earlier. I am not casting any aspersions, nor offering any hypothesis, but am merely puzzled; and surely many others must be likewise puzzled and baffled.

That the Soviet *Gepu* should have singled out three Yiddish literary investigators and historians to pounce upon, although not one of them had engaged in political activities, may be only a coincidence, yet the mysterious circumstances of the arrest are no mere coincidence.

On several occasions, communist sympathizers suggested that we are not acquainted with the inside facts, and that therefore, we ought to suspend judgment. But that is precisely my complaint — *hinc illae lacrimae*. We, outsiders, are languishing for the facts, but they are withheld. To what purpose, we are at a loss to say.

It will now be clear, I hope, that the title "Arresting a Literature" is not a mere quip. The quip, perhaps is one of fate, and one of the many ironies of our pathological period. For all that, I am strongly in favor of an all-out-aid policy toward Soviet Russia; for if USSR has arrested a literature, she has also — the forecasts of military commentators notwithstanding — arrested the brown plague, which is calculated to arrest all literature worthy of the name. Hence my plea for more and still more support to the heroic fighters of many nationalities constituting the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

THE SEIZURE OF *THE CITY OF FLINT*

Was it La Rochefoucauld who said that the world was a tragedy to those who feel and a comedy to those who think? It does not matter, but never has a truer thought been uttered.

At the present time, particularly, is this witticism pregnant with meaning. Even the stalling war which reminds us of the title of Remarque's famous novel, has its grim humor.

Take for example, the great fuss made over the seizure by the Nazis of the freighter *The City of Flint* which they brought as a prize of war to a Russian port. What a fuss had been made about this event in comparison with the real unspeakable horrors! Authorities on international law in this or that university were quoted. Opinions were asked of officials in Washington. British jurists were called upon to state their views.

All this reminds me of a cartoon I once saw in one of the many flippant journals that used to appear by the dozen. A scavenger sitting on the top of his truckload was carefully flicking ashes off his cigarette into the street so as not to get any of it on the offal.

This may have been funny as a cartoon. In everyday life funnier things happen. During the famous blackmail lure case in Boston a number of years ago, the testimony on record had it that when two fake detectives entered the

The Seizure of the "City of Flint"

apartment of the chief lure, one night, they found her and the prospective shakedown in a very compromising position; for she had nothing on Eve. In fact she had still less on herself. Naturally the lady had good reason to feel at least ostensibly peeved at the intrusion. At last, while the two visitors were engaging her in conversation, her patience gave out, and she exclaimed, "Don't you know enough to remove your hat in the presence of a lady!"

Wrong Emphasis

The great ado about *The City of Flint*, when we have forgotten about the torpedoing of the American-bound *Athenia* with hundreds of her passengers killed, the machine-gunning of peasant children on the fields, and scores of other such atrocities, is very much like ordering a court martial for a burglar because he stole into a house without saying "good evening" or bringing a robber to book because while clearing the rooms of their valuables, he had read a letter on the desk, which was not addressed to him.

Millions in Europe do not dare to take a step out of their homes without carrying that monstrous-looking gas mask, a sorry symbol of our present civilization, and the world is agog because a freighter of a neutral country is captured by the very people who are destroying whole countries and nations in the most ruthless manner.

The late Sigmund Freud used the concept of displacement to explain many phenomena in neuroses, in dreams, in wit, and in art. It occurs to me that the misplaced concern shown in matters of this sort is an excellent illustration of the principle of displacement in the political world. As the New Testament has put it long ago, there are many who strain out a gnat and swallow a camel.

RASSENSCHANDE

The affidavit which the former Warsaw community leader, Dr. Henryk Szoszkies, filed in New York, relative to the outrageous demand on the part of the German military authorities for the establishment of brothels, with Jewish girls to serve the Nazi soldiers, must have come as a decided shock to many readers, who are especially mindful of the clause in the Nuremberg laws which regards any intimate relations between Jew and German of the opposite sex as race defilement and punishable both for Jew and German.

Only recently we read of the execution of one, Max Cohen, for this "heinous" crime. A number of executions have taken place since — all for the same defilement. How is it, then, that official Germany actually *imposes* such race defilement in Nazi-occupied Poland? The answer, in brief, seems to be that under the reign of a mad *Fuehrer*, the law itself becomes not only harsh and unreasonable but degenerate. In effect, the Race-Defilement statute means that there is a state of *Rassenschande* only where relations are born of love, but where the act is brought about by sheer lust, there is no condition of race defilement — a status quite in keeping with the Sodomite conception of morals.

Guilty Protecting Their Guilt

It is not out of place to state that only the Nazis have this peculiar term. Dynamic psychology has brought out

Rassenschande

the fact that those who vociferously clamor against something or other are afflicted with that very vice. No wonder the word *Rassenschande* means so much to the Nazis. It is symbolic of their ideology, symbolic of their very existence, for they are the *Schande* (ignominy) of the *Rasse* — the disgrace of the human race.

The Prussians, never admired for their amiability, chivalry, or courtesy, particularly in time of war and on territory occupied by them as conquerors, in their Nazi colors would scarcely be expected to observe the precepts of common decency.

A Great Short Story

The substance of the greatest short story I have ever read — in comparison with which Rudyard Kipling's "Finest Story in the World" strikes one as a puerile composition — turns on that very subject. Surely most readers have had occasion to enjoy and reflect on De Maupassant's *Boule de Suif* (Ball of Tallow). In less than a hundred pages, the master of French fiction has packed the gist of human nature with all its foibles and tragi-comedies, such as you will not find in dozens of ponderous psychological and sociological tomes.

During the Franco-Prussian war, a coach left Rouen with the most heterogeneous fare, comprising a count and his wife, two nuns, a merchant and his wife, a wealthy industrialist and his wife, a politician, and finally a courtesan, who is the heroine of the novelette — a sincere patriot who has left her comfortable establishment at Rouen, because she would have no truck with the despicable enemy.

Pre-Nazi Gallantry

The coach had just approached an inn when a Prussian officer stopped it and, after the necessary formalities, al-

lowed the occupants to take up quarters at the roadhouse. The next morning, the courtesan was summoned before the officer. She had to be coaxed by the others before she would go, and soon returned fuming with rage. The coach could not proceed — that was the decree of the officer — until Boule de Suif, or rather Elizabeth Rousset, complied with his wishes. But every time, the innkeeper reported, "the Prussian officer sends to ask Mademoiselle if she has changed her mind yet," the girl stood still, pale as death. Then, suddenly turning crimson, she would gasp, "Kindly tell that scoundrel, that cur, that carrion of a Prussian, that I will never consent — you understand? Never, never, never!"

"Progress" in 1940

In the years 1870-1871, the German officer felt that he could not have his will even of a common prostitute, but *anno* 1940, the Nazi officers do not believe in such delicacy. The horrors that have been reported of the "cultured" *Gestapo* officials cannot be committed to paper. That is the evolution which the Nordic Nazis have been going through.

How do the women react to these satyrs in polished boots? We have no information, but some day, another Maupassant will relate the exploits of some Rachel on the Nałewki who did exactly what her sister achieved in Alsace at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, when she, a Jewess, avenged the honor of all the women in France — I hope every reader is acquainted with De Maupassant's *Mademoiselle Fifi* — and out of the revolting demand on Jewish womanhood in Nazi-trampled Poland, there may emerge some awe-inspiring epic tale, a glorious *Kiddush-Hashem*, harking back to the episode of Joel and Sisera or Judith and Holofernes.

SWINGING YIDDISH FOLK SONGS

"Bei mir bist du sheyn" had scarcely left the popular front when "Joseph, Joseph" became a hit among swing fans — and no wonder. If dance movement is the rationale (certainly there can be no other excuse for it) of swing, then the joyous tripping of the Jewish wedding guests so tunefully brought out in the music of "Joseph, Joseph" should make an appeal to the riotous youth of today, even if the song has not the modulation or sentiment we hear in "Bei mir bist du sheyn." Cab Calloway's appropriation of "Ot azoi neyt a shneider" for his purpose is an indication that the Yiddish folk-song is scheduled to see better nights.

Whatever their quality, it does sound a bit strange to listen to these strains coming out of the Tombola grounds around a Catholic church in Montreal. Do the dignitaries, conducting that bazaar and raffle, realize that the music is "non-Aryan"? Probably no more than they are aware of the Jewish origin of a good deal of church music that came down to us since the Gregorian era.

Even Nazi Germany has not been able to coördinate the moving lilt of "Bei mir bist du sheyn", which the people thought was probably a folk tribute to the *Schoene Adolf*. The moral here is that when you drive Jewish culture through the door, it comes in through the windows (especially when there is a loud speaker near the window).

A number of years ago I attempted, in a series of articles,

to show with a good many illustrations that jazz, in spite of the Negro background and rhythm, had in reality been built up by Jews. Gershwin at the time was only an aspiring youngster. Other names were cited, as well as the popular songs associated with them. One of the articles in that series on Jewish music dealt with the hit "It ain't gonna rain no more, no more" which, curiously, is reminiscent of the *Akdomus* chant, as the parallel measures proved.

The late Arthur Foote, one of the foremost American composers, at the time professor of harmony and composition at the New England Conservatory of Music, wrote me in connection with those articles that it had not occurred to him, but it was true that American music would not have had the color it now possesses were it not for the band of immigrant sons that had enriched it, that people of his own Anglo-Saxon stock would not have been able to spice the music in the same way, even though it was clear that he held the rhythms of the old masters more intricate than the jazz syncopations.

Swing music has opened up still greater possibilities, although I am certain that the present screeching, rasping, and caterwauling does not yet point to them. The swing artists and maestri, from Benny Goodman down to Cab Calloway, are inoculated with snatches of Yiddish melody and one can readily foresee that a number of Yiddish folk-songs will go through the swing mill — and, in Jewish fashion, why not? Some of them are elemental; most have a characteristic rhythm, which of course will be made more complicated to suit the sophisticated feet of 1950 flaming youth; and as to their melodiousness, certainly it is superior to "I double dare you", "The hurdy gurdy swing", or "Daddy".

For all we know, some enterprising genius, maybe the son of a cantor (in the vein of Jolson and Cantor), may see

Swinging Yiddish Folk Songs

in the Sabbath *Zemiroth* good swing material, and thus the point of Peretz's powerful story "*Der Gilgl fun a Niggn*" ("The metamorphosis of an air") will be more than a tale.

These transformations go on all the time. Some of us who had the good fortune of being brought up in a comparatively sane era may still remember the idol of the music hall, Alice Lloyd, singing the original of a song later appropriated by the Salvation Army and turned into a hymn, naturally to different words. This delightful "hit" ran thus:

*Swing me just a little bit higher, Obadiab, do,
Swing me just a little bit higher, and I'll love you.
Tie me on and I'll never fall,
Swing me over the garden wall —
Just a little bit higher, and I'll love you!*

Perhaps, after all, this was the beginning of swing. Now it has degenerated to a sling.

McDonald's Hebraic Songs

We often suppose that a non-Jew cannot catch the spirit of Jewish music and in fact are quite astonished that anyone but a Jew should tackle it. Sometimes we are pleasantly surprised. The Irish-American, Arthur Foote, has given the synagogue a beautiful musical service. Maurice Ravel, the French Basque, made an art rendering out of the Yiddish folk-song, "*Fregt di welt an alte kashe*" ("Thus the world asks the same old question") which caused many to believe that he was a Jew. The list could be extended, but after all, this is not intended as an inventory.

The occasion is afforded by the success which Dr. Harl McDonald, of the Pennsylvania University Music Department and Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, is having with

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his two Hebraic songs, especially "*Eili, Eili*". The "*Eili brothers*", as the song is jocosely referred to in sophisticated circles, have thus not only received recognition, but from a trite setting have been sublimated into an ethereal harmony, which portends further possibilities, perhaps its incorporation into a new symphony depicting the ultra-savage character of our time, when an ode to a pimp (*Horst Wessel*) could become the national anthem of a great nation that gave to the world Bach and Beethoven, and scores of other geniuses of the first order.

Perhaps in such a symphony, both the *Eili Eili* theme and its exact opposite, the "*Horst Wessel*", will have their place, the latter in a movement perhaps to be labelled not the "*Witches' Sabbath*" but the "*Fiends' blood orgy*".

MAHLER AND WAGNER

As in the opera, a little intermezzo might bring relief to the tension which must overcome us when reviewing the speeches (perhaps "spewches" would be more apt) of Hitler and Goebbels.

Bruno Walter, refugee-guest conductor of the NBC orchestra, chose a program for his last performance at RCA Hall which must have transported many music lovers — a program consisting of a symphony by Mahler and excerpts from some of Wagner's operas. What a feast for the patented musical *cognoscenti*!

It is my impression that the name Walter was suggested to the conductor (*né* Schlesinger) by his master, and also that this master was Mahler.

Both Mahler and Wagner have much in common, and the Jew Walter in combining the Jew, Mahler, and the alleged half-Jew, Wagner, on the same program might have felt it. Both Mahler and Wagner had to struggle for recognition. Both had succeeded in their ambition to write music which was different from that of their predecessors or contemporaries. Both managed to create a cult about their music and stirred up controversies. Irritable and temperamental, they both possessed more than a grain of the megalomaniac; and it is my belief that Mahler was not elated over being a Jew. Wagner's denunciation of the people who furthered his interests is too well known to require more than mention.

In my opinion, both Mahler and Wagner have been overrated; and if posterity has been far more charitable to Wagner, it is because of the propaganda aura surrounding the music which gives Hitler such unmusical thrills. I think myself that the "*Kampf*" of Wagner, his conquests, his pomp, his aggressiveness, and above all, his unprecedented exaltation of the dubious virtues of the old Teutons, had much to do with his elevation as a sort of musical "*Fuehrer*" the world over.

Since Germany has always been disseminating musical information to the world at large, it is natural that Wagner's music-dramas should be invested with a significance and greatness which many of us skeptics have never been able to discern. Remove the halo, the atmosphere from Wagner's music, and it becomes devoid of that spontaneity which is the mark of all genius.

To many of us, music lovers, the Nibelungen situations are for the most part not only fantastic, but crude and senseless, finding their highest expression in the so-called chivalry and bombast on the one hand, and downright sadistic cruelty on the other. In the music-dramas, the blare is often accepted as a celestial sound; and the manipulation of the *leitmotif*, which I find as banal as the hotchas of swing noise, has been regarded as a divine gift. The orchestral scoring is descriptive and pleasing enough. That is as far as I would go.

Many readers will probably share my opinion when I say that I am willing to give up several of Wagner's music-dramas for a symphony like that of Mozart's in G minor or his piano concerto in C minor (and Walter ranks as the world's foremost interpreter of Mozart), not to speak of the uniformly inspired works of a Beethoven or Bach, or, for that matter, even Vivaldi. What I find in Wagner is not inspiration but "conspiracy".

Mabler and Wagner

Postscript 1942

In this connection, it is strange that there should be so much playing of Wagner's typical Teutonic bluster-music at the present time, as if those musicians responsible for the programmes wanted to lean backward so as not to be accused of misguided patriotism.

By all means, German music should be well represented on the programmes. But why must it be that most pretentious music which embodies the Nazi attitude of Godlike superiority over others?

After being subjected to the prelude from *Lobengrin* to the point of distraction, I suggested to the sponsors of a daily recording programme to change the signature theme. My letter follows:

Mr. H. Dumfries
Diggs and Diggs
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Mr. Dumfries:

As a customer, perhaps I may take the liberty of complaining about the *Lohengrin* signature theme, inflicted on music lovers twice a day for many a moon. Of course, many listeners, including myself, turn it off before and after, but then we occasionally miss out on the programme. Aside from its tedious repetition, it takes some time away from the hour, because the prelude is played almost in its entirety. When there are so many beautiful airs from the Old Italian masters, from Mozart, Haydn, Handel, and others, that are restful and not mawkish, why must we impose upon the better radio audience, day in and day out, the music that appeals to Hitler and that glorifies the prototype of the Nazis? It is not this, however, that impels me to write. It's the listening to that screeching prelude for the millionth time. Just compare this with the Paganini Variations theme of another radio period, and you will note the difference.

Sincerely yours,

A. A. ROBACK

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My plea was not favored with a reply. This was one case where the customer was not right. A member of the firm's staff, however, told me that because of the continued playing of the *Lohengrin* Prelude, there were many sales of that particular selection. If the record is played twice a day for nearly two years it implies that, in order to like a composition, the prospective purchaser must listen to it at least a thousand times. What else can it mean? For otherwise, the signature theme might be changed, say, once every three months, which would still give it 200 hearings. Furthermore, we may reasonably ask whether some other selection might not produce a similar number of sales, if played equally often.

Fanning a Cult

To my mind, the persistent blaring of Wagner's music and ideas, in music circles, has been instrumental in exaggerating the value of his much overrated music-dramas. Do the young people who stand for hours at the Metropolitan Opera House, daydreaming about the love scenes between Tristan and Isolde and drinking in the molasses-like music, really find significance in the tonal sequences? I doubt it very much. They are the victims of propaganda.

The conductors and directors are also guided by the glamorous performances, as well as the tales and discussions heard in their childhood and youth. The demands of the public, too, must be reckoned with. It has become quite fashionable to say, "Oh, I have a ticket for *Tristan*". Thus Wagner's memory has profited by the enormous propaganda machine which the Germans built up long before the Nazis came into power.

May I ask, however, whether the incessant playing of a characteristically Wagnerian theme, exalting the Teutonic

Mabler and Wagner

idea of supremacy — and I know of no *motif* that is more symbolic of German braggadocio than the *Lohengrin* Prelude — is not in itself an attempt, deliberate or subconscious, to ingrain, in the minds of the not too musical listeners, the uniqueness of Wagnerian opera and, with it, the incomparableness of *Deutschtum*, as Wagner's son-in-law, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, expounded it in his *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, which forms the basis of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*?

* * *

Note: Deems Taylor's recent defense of Wagner smacks of sophistry. The commentator of the New York Philharmonic Society points out that Wagner is not to be held responsible for Hitler's predilection of his music, and furthermore that Wagner did not create the Nibelungen myths but found them in the Scandinavian Eddas.

Naturally, those who have lately begun to dislike Wagner's music only because Hitler is so fond of it are unmusical superpatriots. It is, however, undeniably true that Hitler would not have been thrilled by a cultural production which did not appeal to his Nazi instincts. As to the other argument of Deems Taylor, it is almost sophomoric. We realize that all nations have their mythology; and the Germans are entitled to their Sagas and Eddas, but after Wagner has rewritten these Eddas in his own way and supplied music that is blatant with conceit and chauvinism, the conclusion is inescapable that we are taking this bravado in good coin, if we make so much of it, without the quality of the music warranting it.

The British, the French, the Russians, yes, the Scandinavians, whose Eddas the Germans appropriated, prize their myths and legends, but what composer of theirs has raised them into a cult of national virtue and prowess to be accepted by a too easily impressed world?

AN INTERESTING EXHIBIT

The latest library exhibit at Harvard's Widener Library showed hundreds of different editions of the greatest nonsense book in history — Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. The fairy story written for the mathematician's little friend, Alice Liddell, daughter of the compiler of the best-known Greek-English dictionary, proved to be one of the most potent influences in educational life; and was translated into scores of languages. Hundreds of editions have been published of this child's book, some with beautiful illustrations.

I shall not go into the causes of Carroll's success. Most who are acquainted with the story and who have quoted phrases from it are not aware that its author was a mathematician, one who dealt with the most rigid abstractions, exact propositions, logical conclusions; but had he not written his children's books, he would have been quite obscure.

It is, in my opinion, just because through the childish simplicity there shines forth, on a higher plane, philosophical truth which could be universally applied, even to our own jittery times, that *Alice's Adventures* has taken its place beside, or in the front rank of, the great fables of all times. The moral is that a mathematician, logician, or *philosopher could not write nonsense without its assuming the status of sense*. If whatever Midas touched turned into gold,

An Interesting Exhibit

then whatever is discussed by a thinker becomes philosophy; and sense is distilled from nonsense, even if he should discourse on green cheese, kings and cabbages. That is wherein a spirit like Carroll's differs from that of Gertrude Stein. He *speaks* even when he "jabberwocks"; she jabbars whenever she talks.

The Jews and Nonsense

The particular observation I wish to make with regard to the Carroll exhibit is this: While practically every language which had an alphabet or writing system was represented in this exhibit of Carroll's immortal fairy story, including Hebrew, there was no Yiddish translation in evidence.

At a similar exhibit of Andersen's *Fairy Tales*, in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale in 1930, I did find the Yiddish translation side by side with the Hebrew. Yiddish is not averse to fairy tales, but it would seem that the Jewish masses have no sense for nonsense (the play of words is accidental). Perhaps they are too serious for it; perhaps they have had enough "adventure" in this world to make them less eager for the acquaintance of Mad Hatters or Snarks, Mock Turtles or White Rabbits, March Hares and Gryphons. Perhaps their own stories about the Sambattyon or the famous Bustonoi cycle are more in keeping with their taste.

At any rate, I don't know of any attempt made to translate Carroll's classic into Yiddish; and there are many hundreds of Yiddish schools in the world. But the man who will tackle such a translation will have to be an artist, not only because of the language difficulties but because of the strange atmosphere into which the Jew, even the Jewish child, must be introduced. The children might be in the humor of Alice who laughingly said, "There's no use trying,

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one can't believe impossible things". To which the White Rabbit replies, "When I was your age, I always did it for half-an-hour a day. Why sometimes I've believed as many as six impossible things before breakfast."

Today, alas, we can believe many impossible things not only before breakfast, but before dinner and supper too. For instance, as the radio bids us do, see your newspapers.

PROTECTIVE COLORATION

A news item reveals the fact that the French courts have been handling 75,000 petitions for the change of name by Jews who, apprehensive of the growing tide of anti-Semitism, are frantically seeking the means by which certain insects and birds and other organisms avoid extinction, namely, protective coloration; that is, by assuming the color of the surrounding shrubbery or the stump of the tree on which they are perched. The chameleon is the proverbial animal to carry this stunt through to perfection.

Far be it from me to censure people who do not wish to be made the prey of insensate anti-Semites. We cannot expect every individual to be made of the sterner stuff which resists instead of yielding. Moral stamina are the priceless possession of but the few. My misgivings are aroused rather as to the efficacy of the stratagem, and therefore, as to the intelligence of the aspiring name-changers.

Folk-Lore Aspect

Changing one's name boasts of a long history in Jewish lore, and forms a quaint chapter in the annals of ghetto life. When our grandfathers, usually grandmothers, decided in an emergency to change the name of their seriously ill child by adding the name of Alter, Alte, Bobbe, Zeydel, or Khayim, it was mainly to deceive the Angel of Death,

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supposedly sent out on a snatching mission. The good omen inherent in the new name was, of course, to be of additional service.

Name-changing, as a practice, flourished in the days of Czarist oppression, when Jewish youths were conscripted at a tender age, often depriving a large family of all its males save for the head of the family. Many were the tragedies, unrelieved by comedy, occurring during that period. Sholem Aleykhem's inimitable story, "Fun Priziv", a masterpiece of pathos muffling our hearty laughter, is based wholly on the Jewish "Comedy of Errors", of which Shakespeare could have had no conception.

One could well understand the motive actuating the nominal transformation in such cases where the flower of the Pale would be drafted to act as cannon fodder for their persecutors fighting aggressive wars. In some instances, at least, the ruse was effective and only one or two sons were sent to the barracks.

A Pernicious Philosophy

It is, however, more than questionable whether name-changing in order to ward off anti-Semitic attacks is advisable even in France, where the general population differs so little from the Jew in physiognomy that it would not be easy to say which is which. As well might we try to deceive a virulent microbe which assails our system or a malignant tumor which has taken root in the body by changing the patient's name, as our forefathers did to fool Samael. What should we say if told that a man carried a false moustache in his pocket so that he might don it when he spied a robber?

For each one individually to resort to such camouflage is to adopt the disastrous policy of "everyone for himself

Protective Coloration

and the devil take the hindmost" — a policy which is the expression of despair and spells defeatism. The panic-stricken move of so many French Jews is not only misguided; it is wicked, and not only cowardly, but impractical. For if anti-Semitism is such a powerful force, what would prevent it from either prohibiting these changes or, after it is in the saddle, from ordering every Jew to re-assume the former name, and even add the prenomen, Israel, as his brethren are compelled to do in Germany, if the given name is not obviously Jewish in accord with the list decreed by the Nazi government?

Not The Way Out

There is a Hebrew *dévisé* which has been used again and again in Hebrew literature — *Lo Zu Ha-Derekh* (That is not the way). This phrase must be applied once more, and with greater emphasis than before.

Anti-Semitism, whether in France, Poland, or in the United States, can be fought only by a concerted effort on the part of all concerned. The Polish Jews have shown us a splendid example by their stubborn resistance to Jew-baiting.

That anti-Semitism in our own country has taken on formidable proportions need not be argued any longer. Unfortunately it fairly shrieks its abomination. If any barometric proof were necessary, the Committee of Harvard Professors, recently handing down its findings in the form of a report, supplied it. We may rest assured that when an official Harvard Committee makes no bones about it, there is not the faintest glimmer of doubt about its existence in an alarming degree; for Harvard is the most cautious and conservative of institutions of learning.

Granted, then, that the plague is here, we can combat

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it only by following a systematic plan of defense. It will do no good, when you have heard Coughlin's mouthings, to call up your rabbi, or the local Jewish editor and frantically enjoin him to "do something about it, for God's sake." Instead of becoming panic-stricken, why not join a large organization whose aim is to deal with anti-Semitism? If Moishe says, "Let Yankel do it" and Yankel insists "Let Moishe do it," the Jew-baiters will be doing all the doing.

Nor should the organizations, even when their avowed purpose is to strike at the snake in our midst, be engaging in separate activities. They must all unite into a federation in so much as they have a common cause, or else they will be working at cross purposes. Federations of charity are no more useful than federations of national protection; and a strong coalition government has always been the great bulwark to look to in a national crisis.

THE ITALIANS ARE DIFFERENT

I have already had occasion to observe that the Jews during the Dark Ages, were treated much better in Italy than in any other of the major countries. Until the present artificial anti-Semitic programme, there have never been, to my knowledge, any professional Jew-baiters in Italy. Such attitudes of hate seem foreign to the nation that has given birth to painting and music. It would be difficult to imagine Raphael, Titian, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Vivaldi, or the Scarlattis tainted with the germ of prejudice. It is probably the artistic strain in the Italian people which keeps them emotionally balanced on racial questions. In no other country than Italy had the Jews risen to equal prominence.

The anti-Semitic plague, which always found its most favorable soil in Germany — not that the Germans as a nation are at heart anti-Semitic — even with such a skillful germ-transplanter as Mussolini, appears to make little headway in Italy; for anti-Semitism is far from indigenous to the inhabitants of the sunny South. Again and again, it becomes clear that there are national types of behavior; and on reading the digest of events from month to month, we cannot help but admire the Italian resistance to the virulent grafting of a Nazi ideology under the azure skies of fair Italy.

Toscanini, one of the greatest living Italians, was the

first to show his mettle when the racist jungle law superseded the Weimar constitution in Germany. We have, however, had ample proof of the Italian spirit of fair play in other acts of outstanding men in the land of the Caesars, as well as of the population at large.

A Few Roses Among the Thorns

From the *Contemporary Jewish Record* I cull the following facts relating to the Jews in Italy:

Marinetti, noted poet and an intimate of Mussolini, denounces anti-Semitic policies and appeals to the people to disregard racist decrees.

Il Tevere reports exclusion of 1,000 from Fascist Party for public criticism of anti-Jewish laws.

Milan, Florence, and Venice affiliates of the Society for the Protection of Public Morality protest against immoral anti-Semitic pictures published in *Difesa della Razza*.

Pressure by patrons obliges the La Scala Opera in Milan to rescind the order barring Jews from attending the opera.

Ultimatum to foreign Jews expires but Government makes no arrests. Little popular support for anti-Semitic policies is reported.

Italian shopkeepers and customers are said to be resisting efforts to label stores as "Aryan". The public fails to coöperate in implementing the decree forbidding Jews access to public places.

Seven young Jews were sentenced to two- and three-year terms in concentration camp for assaulting an actor who insulted Jews on stage of Roman theatre.

Popular opposition to anti-Semitism and sympathy for Jews was evidenced at the Milan depot, when crowd bade farewell to departing foreign Jews.

Nazi tourist who tried to eject aged Jew from Milan trolley beaten by passengers.

The Italians Are Different

Massimo Bontempelli, noted writer and musician, expelled from Fascist Party and his books banned, following letter to Mussolini condemning racial legislation.

Governor Italo Balbo's opposition to racialism is reported to have spared 35,000 Libyan Jews from full impact of Italy's anti-Jewish program.

Policy Changes, But Not Popular Attitude

All this happened only in two months. The Italian Crown Prince, who "inadvertently" picked out a Jewish wounded veteran for special honors, is known to be opposed to Mussolini's policies; and may not have been so "inadvertent", after all, in his choice.

Even as late as 1941, when the anti-Semitic policy in Italy had reached a new high watermark, Jews suffering in air raids were indemnified on a par with non-Jews; and eleven Jewish physicians, accused of treating "Aryans", were acquitted after a spectacular trial, at which distinguished non-Jewish advocates came to the defence of the noted medical men.

The Italian courts demonstrated their fairness in other ways too. When an Egyptian Jewess sued her employer for dismissal a few days prior to the date set for the enforcement of the industrial restrictions, the ruling, in reversal of a previous court decision, was in her favor.

It is quite different from the treatment meted out the Jews by German officials. I had the opportunity of seeing a letter addressed to a German Jewess whose property was being taken from her and who begged for deferment of her tax payment. The reply from the official was not only harsh, but amazingly insolent, considering the usually impersonal form of the ordinary legal document.

Where in Germany, may we ask, has any leader risen

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to defend the Jews? Or, can we imagine a few German Jews beating up an actor for ridiculing their race? Even those high-ranking officers in Italy who committed suicide flung a *défi* at Mussolini in the manner which they chose to give up their life and which could not but impress the finer sensibilities of the Italians.

THE STEINS SPEAK OUT

It was with some presentiment that Mussolini, through his mouthpiece, Farinacci, in his preliminary mouthing against the Jews, singled out the names ending in *Stein*. The Stein seemed to be a "shtein in veg", or a thorn in the flesh. The Steins were, of course, a Jewish symbol, a trademark, but little did he suppose that the Steins would come back as effectively as they did.

First, Henry Bernstein, the famous French dramatist, in an excoriating letter to Mussolini, flung back his decoration received at the hands of the one-man cabinet. Then Artur Rubinstein, pianist virtuoso, did the same. Enrico Glicenstein, the sculptor, who was decorated by King Vittorio Emanuele, could scarcely act discourteously toward the Italian "sub-monarch" (I, for one, will not call him "Emperor") but he addressed a letter to his patron, asking him, even if the plea is a futile one, to curb the anti-Semitic policy of his boss. The logical step for Glicenstein is to deport his decorations too. We may yet hear from another Stein, the greatest of them all, Albert Einstein.

We have not learned anything about the reaction of the Italian Jews. Most of the leaders must be too bewildered. I think it was the philosopher, Castelnovo, who last year showed his heroism by daring to oppose the Fascist policy, for which offense he was dismissed from his university chair; and for all one knows, it may have been worse. Other Jews were probably not as candid.

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Italian Jews

What type of Jews are these admirals, generals, statesmen, jurists, and scientists, who have made Italy great? I can cite one instance only, which will be enlightening, I hope.

Just before my *Jewish Influence in Modern Thought* went to press, I asked Dean Pound, now *Emeritus*, of the Harvard Law School, whether he knew Del Vecchio, the Rector of the University of Rome, and a jurist of world renown, to be a Jew. He said he was certain that this was not so; for he knew not only Del Vecchio very well, but was acquainted with his mother, a distinguished lady, of ancient Italian nobility. Dean Pound's answer seemed to be decisive, yet I had a fairly good idea that Del Vecchio, though baptized, was, as the encyclopedias express it, "of Jewish origin". I cabled Del Vecchio, asking him to cable back "Yes" if my surmise was correct. Back came a cable the same day with the word "Yes". He did not dodge the issue. He did not ignore the question, which many others would have considered impertinent. He did not wait to dictate a letter.

The Rector of the University of Rome did not take the attitude of a Nobel Prize man, now living in this country (whose name also has a "Stein" in it, but it is in the middle, where his guts should have been) who sued a Jewish biographical publication for disclosing to the world, and particularly to his sons (!!) that he was Jewish.

Relations with Italians

We should not confuse Mussolini with the Italians. It is heartening to see that many of our Italian co-citizens, who at first were willing to believe that a campaign of vilification was being conducted against their Chief, are now

The Steins Speak Out

not only ready to agree that "seeing is believing" but are condemning the new policy of Italian Fascism.

As I have had occasion to remark once before, the Italians have at all times been more tolerant to the Jews than most of the other great nations, and unlike the patriotic Germans who are willing to swallow Hitler, hook, line and sinker, regardless of Nazi blood crimes, the Italians can discriminate; and it is for this reason that we should be particularly careful to continue the amicable relations with the happy sons of the South.

The Religious Migration in Italy

The wholesale conversion of Jews in Italy will sadden millions of Jews. More than one-tenth of all Italian Jews were reported to have embraced Christianity, within the past year. It will be recalled that during the Inquisition in Spain and other countries, the mass conversion reached a greater figure, yet the Jews continued to survive. We know full well that practically none of the neophytes have changed their faith out of conviction, that many of them will either return to Judaism or discard their new religion, once they are on free territory again; and as for the rest, let us bear in mind that, as the barber tells us, after a shampoo, only the dead hairs fall out.

Italian Jewry has been more or less assimilated for centuries. In the arts and sciences, in the army and navy, in industry and finance, its members were second to none of the world's Jewries, but as Jews they were third-raters. A formal religion was all that attached them to their fellow-Jews. Possibly a sympathetic attitude toward Zionism was another tie. Had they strong cultural ties with the rest of world Jewry, this exodus from their very selves could not have occurred. Just fancy one-tenth of Poland's Jews em-

bracing Christianity! The very thought is inconceivably absurd. The same may be said of American Jewry. No matter what the circumstances, those Jews who leave the culture and tradition of their People are the first to become Presbyterians, Methodists, Unitarians, or Christian Scientists. The Yiddish-speaking Jew, though he be an atheist, will stick to his guns in the midst of danger, and especially then. Polish Jewry is a Maginot line in itself; and, as in ancient Sparta, every man is a brick. Would that other Jewries emulated its example, as in the case of the Jewish students, who doggedly stood through every lecture in all the Polish institutions of higher learning rather than sit on the "ghetto" benches reserved for them.

Part V

GRINS AND GROANS

ANTHROPOLOGY AS SHE IS WROTE

A CARTOON BASED ON RECENT BOOKS DEALING WITH JEWS

Editorial Note

At the Northwest corner of Arabia, in the territory watered by the Jordan and bordering on the Mediterranean, there lived a people whose destiny was not altogether without effect on the course of history.

The influence of this people, the tribe of Israel, has been greatly exaggerated, for it is only its individual members that have accomplished distinguished feats. As a nation the Jews have not achieved anything significant or decisive¹ (except to imbue the world with monotheism, giving it Christianity and Mohammedanism in addition to Judaism).

Jewish Influence

There is a belief that the Jews form a distinctive race, a homogeneous ethnic group, but nothing is farther from the truth. Anybody who has travelled extensively knows that the Jews in Poland wear long kaftans; in Morocco they are dressed in a fez; in China they are wrapped

1) Eugène Pittard: *Les Races et l'Histoire*. "Ce sont les individus ou les groupes, et non la nation à qui ont été dévolues des actions politiques, souvent déterminantes" (page 413).

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in mandarins, while in the United States many are to be seen in breeches. The same is true of other wearing apparel. Has anyone seen the Jew exclusively in a wing collar or a soft collar? Have we not had occasion to spot a member of this "nationality" now and then with a bow tie, while at other times, as these Israelites come streaming from their synagogues on the *Yom Kippur*, do we not observe the most variegated assortment of cravats, four-in-hands, etc.? I have in the course of my researches even found an old patriarchal Jew wearing no tie at all.



Only His Nose is Semitic

Figure 2

The Jewish physiognomy is another of those widespread fictions which are invoked in favor of the doctrine of a Jewish race. The illustration (Figure 2) is that of a full-blooded Moslem, yet most readers will be inclined to

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mistake him for a Jew.² On the other hand, I can cite several cases of Gentiles who bore a Jewish cast of countenance.

In the light of these facts it would be violating the elementary principles of morphology to ascribe a homogeneity to a group of people manifesting such diverse tastes and habits.

Jewish Types

If there is a specific Jewish type I should imagine it would be found among the Spanish Jews, whose noble qualities and intellectual gifts are so well known; and that is due to the shape of their skull, which is dolichocephalic, while the Jews in Eastern, and especially those of Central Europe (the so-called Aski-Nazis), are brachycephalic, measuring 83.31074265. Since the index of the autochthonous nationalities among which these Jews resided measured 79.31074254, we can perceive that the similarity is striking in most of the figures, which shows furthermore that the Jewish skull conforms to the cap of the adopted country.³

Stature

When we come to consider their stature, we are struck with the appalling stuntedness of the hordes of these people living in Eastern Europe and almost ready to invade the precincts of Nordic Germany. Sometimes you will run across Jews only three feet four in height (according to the Jewish law, we must regard every thirteen-year-old boy — that is to say, after confirmation — a full-fledged Jew with all the rights and privileges of the adult). It is often supposed that anti-Semitism is a malicious movement, that it

2) The reference is to Ripley's *Races of Europe*, and Fishberg's *The Jews*.

3) The reference is to Franz Boas' findings (See his *Primitive Mind*.)

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is borne of prejudice, but reflect only on the consequences of these undersized masses entering Germany, and for that matter our own country, and we shall appreciate the urgency of restricting immigration in favor of the hotel swiss.⁴



A Full-Fledged Jew

Figure 3

Population

The population of the Jews is variously estimated as between ten to twelve million. In the United States alone there are near two millions, and New York is said to harbor about 100,000 of the race, mostly descended from immigrants.

4) Ripley's *Races of Europe*, pp. 372-373: "Germany shudders at the dark and threatening cloud of population of the most ignorant and wretched description which overhangs her eastern frontier. Berlin must not, they say, be allowed to become a new Jerusalem for the horde of Russian exiles. That also is the American problem. This great Polish swamp of miserable human beings, terrific in its proportions, threatens to drain itself off into our country as well, unless we restrict its ingress."

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Characteristics

Certain physical and mental characteristics have for a long time been associated with the Jews, such as the absence of inebriety, which might seem to show either that they are temperate or that their system is liquor-tolerant. But neither of these alternatives applies to the Jews. Their freedom from alcoholism is to be ascribed wholly to the fact that they have lived in a Ghetto. "But among their descendants drunkenness is becoming more and more common."⁵ In the same way may be explained all the other immunities and susceptibilities of the Jews. First, they are not true; secondly, if true, they hold also of other nationalities, and thirdly, if these are traits which are peculiar to the Jews, they can be envisaged as the result of the restricted conditions under which the Jews were living for many centuries, transmitting these acquired characteristics to their descendants.⁶

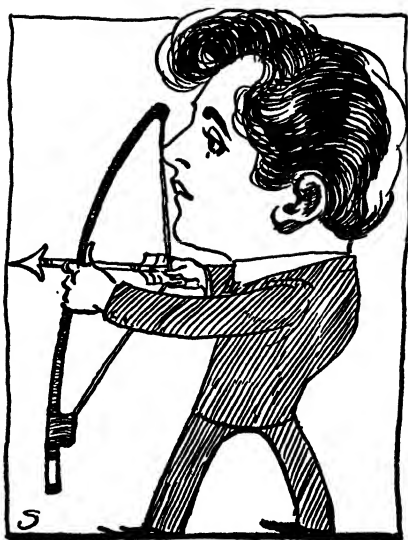
Musical Aptitude Explained

The notable proficiency of Jews as interpreters of instrumental music, and especially as violinists, only goes to support our view. Not being allowed to indulge in the hunt and chase pastimes, their impulse to use weapons like the bow and arrow expressed itself in the use of the bow and violin; and as "practice makes perfect," this proficiency in the course of centuries became pronounced in the concert chamber.⁷

5) Fishberg's *The Jews*, p. 275.

6) In spite of the fact that, with the exception of Paul Kammerer and one or two others, all biologists are agreed that acquired characteristics cannot be transmitted, as shown by the experiments of Weismann.

7) I am not aware as yet that any of our dissectors have made use of this argument, but I shall not be surprised to find it some day in a ponderous tome by an anthropologist. (A. A. R.)



A Jewish Bowman
Figure 4

Jews and Capitalism

In one sphere, however, they have made a remarkable contribution, *viz.*, in finance, and as is well known, modern capitalism dates from the Jews. That the Jews should have developed the gigantic capitalistic system as we have it today is not unnatural, for as Freud has pointed out, the sublimation of the sex instinct is the force which is responsible for all the achievements of civilization; and the Jews have been enjoined by the marital laws in the Bible to observe greater intervals of continence, thereby being compelled to turn their libido into other channels, thus creating the vast capitalistic movement.⁸

8) See Sombart's *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*: It is hardly worth while to dwell on the exceptions like Marx, Lassalle, Eduard Bernstein, Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky, Emma Goldman, and others. It is enough to remind the reader of the expression 'rich as a Jew' to convince him of the capitalistic tendency of this race.

Anthropology As She Is Wrote

Language

The Jews, in addition to the gesture language, employ as their medium of expression two spoken languages: Hebrew and Yiddish. The latter is a jargon without grammar or literature. The emancipated Jews, of course, no longer resort to either, the immigrants alone clinging to their antiquated form of speech. Yiddish is spoken by the Jews on weekdays, while Hebrew is made use of on Saturdays only.⁹

Intelligence

Finally we must touch upon the widely reputed Jewish intelligence. In the first place, it is sufficient to recall the fact that the Jews are not a Nordic people in order to satisfy ourselves that they cannot rank high in intellect. Secondly, the data from the army psychological examination during the World War proves the untenability of the general belief. A glance at the subjoined tables will make it clear that the Russians and the Poles were among the very lowest in intelligence as tested by psychologists. Now, since "it is fair to assume that our army sample of immigrants from Russia is at least one-half Jewish"¹⁰ one ought not to hesitate drawing the conclusion that the Jewish immigrants have an intelligence below the average.

True, the Jews are considered to be generally bright, and "investigators searching for talent in New York City and California schools find a frequent occurrence of talent among Jewish children". The reason, however, is not far to seek. "The able Jew is popularly recognized not only

9) The last sentence is a reference to *Races and Immigrants in the United States*, by Commons.

10) Quoted *verbatim et literatim* from Brigham's *American Intelligence*, pp. 189-190.

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because of his ability"¹¹ but because he is a Jew. If the able Christian were to remodel his nose so as to look like a 6 in script, and change his name to Cohen or Levy, no doubt his ability would become equally recognized, and he might be just as successful as his Jewish rival.

11) Quoted *verbatim et literatim* from Brigham's *American Intelligence*, pp. 189-190.

GRIM HUMOR

About 125 years ago, Rabbi Akiba Eiger was perhaps the most renowned Talmudist of his day. The historian, Graetz, has this to say about him in his monumental work: "Akiba Eiger, owing to his astoundingly ingenious mind and high virtues — among which modesty was preëminent — enjoyed almost divine reverence from the thousands of disciples who came from his academies in Friedland and Posen. He was a quiet man, who never took the initiative, and was averse to aggressive opposition."

Only recently did I learn that a grandson of Eiger was professor of physiology at the University of Wilno. That was when the press carried a report of his death. There is, however, a strange postlude to the sad event. It appears that, as in the case of many descendants from great Jewish rabbis, Marian Eiger had held himself aloof from the Jews, having become thoroughly assimilated to the Polish culture. His wife was a Gentile, probably a Catholic, and had it not been for the goings-on in the Nazi Reich, with its repercussions in the world at large, the scion of a noted family would almost have forgotten that he belonged to the Jewish people. At any rate, in the last few years he coöperated with the local Community and participated in some of the more important activities of Wilno Jewry. Upon his death, his widow arranged to have him buried in a Christian cemetery on the allegation that he had been converted to Christianity. All was ready for the interment. The sealed coffin

was about to be lowered, when the orthodox relatives of the deceased scientist arrived and saved the body for the Jewish cemetery.

Cemeteries and Other Cheerful Matters

It is curious that Gentiles should be so eager to welcome Jewish corpses into their burial grounds, when they apportion minimal quotas to Jews for almost every office or job. And as for the Jewish horror of allowing their dead to be buried on a non-Jewish cemetery, it is a relic of the primitive taboo. I think that the lower an individual is on the cultural scale the more concerned will he be about his funeral or burial. The ignorant servant is especially intent upon having a cortège with music (recall the film "Imitation of Life"). We are reminded how Socrates laughed off his disciples' plea about arranging for a plot of land to take care of the inevitable. Socrates thought he might be buried anywhere. It didn't matter to him. "But," pleaded his admirer. "What if beasts or birds attacked your body?" "Why then, put a stick in my hand," joshed old Socrates. "Oh, but you wouldn't know it," remonstrated the naïve disciple. "Well, if I don't know it, then what difference will it make, what happens to my body?" retorted the roughish philosopher, with a twinkle in his mischievous eye.

Personally, the only reason why I should prefer a Jewish burial ground is that there is apt to be less room for conflict and misunderstanding in case visitors called. Otherwise, I don't think the worms on Gentile cemeteries are anti-Semitic or those on Jewish burial grounds Judeophiles. What is more, even Potter's field, the very thought of which brings dismay to the minds of most people, holds no terror for me. I know full well that many a denizen of Potter's field had a more humane character and a warmer heart than quite a few of those who lie in crypts and under mauso-

Grim Humor

leums. As Peretz, in his great folk-tale, *Drooping Eyes*, put it, "For thus think and speak people who see things on the surface, and never know what is happening within, what is going on in the depths of the soul".

After all it is not so much how we are buried that counts as the manner in which we have lived or in what cause we meet our death.

Human-Canine Tragi-Comedy

This reminds one of the little human tragi-comedy enacted some two years ago in St. Phillips cemetery, West Warwick, Rhode Island. It happened that Mrs. Mattie Houston, in her will, expressed the wish that her faithful German shepherd dog be buried in her grave. Mr. Houston fulfilled the will and had the dog's body placed in a metal vault on the family plot. That aroused the indignation, righteous or otherwise, of the vestrymen and other citizens of the town, some of whom went to the trouble of disinterring the dog's remains. Mr. Houston then posted a 24-hour guard to keep the dog buried in the mistress's grave. The vestrymen then appealed to Bishop Bennett for an order to keep the cemetery from being desecrated by a decomposing member of the canine species.

I don't know whether this episode is a tragedy for the dog, but it certainly is part of the human comedy which Balzac so penetratingly began to analyze. We may imagine that the resentment was not so much against the dog lying in the midst of what were once human beings, as against the fact that someone else's dog was given a place of honor with the dead kin of the citizens.

Personally I should prefer the company of an honest and loyal dog on the "happy hunting ground" than the august presence of murderous dictators and other wolves (rather than dogs) in human guise.

SPEAKING ABOUT CROSSES

In the process of human cultural development, the cross has always been a symbol of the highest and deepest sentiments in man. We can understand this when we realize that the cross represents man with outstretched arms — in supplication or resignation, as in the famous statue by Dallin at the entrance of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, or in martyrdom or crucifixion, from which the cross receives its special significance; or it may be in the warm embrace of friends, that the cross symbolizes man in his length and breadth. It denotes the expanded, vibrant, stirring principle in man. That is perhaps why the Lithuanian Jew is called a *Tzeylim-Kop* by his Polish and Russian brethren, or as a Lithuanian Jewish teacher explained it to his Ukrainian non-intellectual pupils, who pestered him, "When the Lithuanian wants to accomplish something *leygt er zikh in der leyng un in der breyt vert a tzeylim*" (an idiom which is untranslatable, but which may be rendered by the English "moves heaven and earth". Literally, he "places himself lengthwise and crosswise").

Cultural Explorations

At the tender age of 14, when I dabbled in cultural origins, philology, and folklore, I was struck by the resemblance of the ancient Hebrew "tau" (tov) to a cross, even if I

Speaking About Crosses

was not surprised that the Hebrew "tau" and the Latin "t" should be so much alike. What is more, the Hebrew "tau" signifies "a sign" or "symbol". In other words, thousands of years ago, the cross was known as the "sign" *the* "symbol", the final character of the Hebrew alphabet. (Speaking as a graphologist, now, I may venture to state that the written "t", in its numerous varieties, discloses more about the character of an individual than any other letter. Thus, that mark, originally named "symbol", reveals something about the cross in our material or spiritual self, as the case may be.)

Came the relentless Inquisition and the murderous Crusades. The cross, to the Jew, began to assume an aspect of horror. It meant a denial of everything holy, all freedom of thought and worship, and the very sight of it would fill many a Jew with nausea — an instance of a racial conditioned reflex compounded through the centuries of hate and persecution which he had undergone; in psychoanalytic language, the cross became a complex.

With the gradual emancipation of Jewry, we began to get adjusted to the meaning of the cross. The next stage was the advent of the swastika — the hooked, crooked cross, which is the emblem of Nazidom. Yes, the original cross typified straightforwardness, directness, openness — nothing could be concealed. The swastika, on the contrary, puts us in mind of some disgusting beetle or devilfish. The hooks remind us of talons of twisted, misshapen feet revolving around a headless body — the appropriate insignia for a *barbarocracy*.

The Occasion of the Disquisition

It may be asked at this point what had led us to revert to crosses and swastikas at this particular time. Well, it's

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all in the news of the day. One can't help associating the past and the present, when the present is merely a reaction of the past.

Recent dispatches have announced the fact that Adolf Hitler, in his philanthropic mood, has offered a bronze cross to all German women who bore three or four children and a silver cross to those who produced as many as eight, nine or ten prospective Nazis. He did not go any farther in his awards. . . . Probably he knew very well that each of these mothers who received a silver cross would automatically, in the near future, become a gold-cross mother. . . .

As for the children brought into the world, if male, some of them might receive the iron cross for bravery, but practically all of them would be provided with a wooden cross.

Meanwhile, however, Adolf awards the double-cross to Chamberlain, Daladier, Bonnet, etc., and sends them to Halifax, or perhaps to the Duce, which is really triple-crossing them.¹

1) This was written shortly after the Munich betrayal of Czechoslovakia.

THE YELLOW PAPER

An Interrogative Declaration

The British Government's ultimate objective is the establishment of an independent State of Palestine (of conflict?) in such treaty relations with Britain as provide satisfactorily for the commercial and strategic interests of both countries. This would involve the termination of the mandate (and the end of a gentleman's agreement embodied in the Balfour Declaration), as well as the transformation of the mandate into a *bandate*. In fact the mandate is only an anagram for a damn tea, which Englishmen have been subjected to on occasion by importunate people.

It is not the objective of the British Government that Palestine should become a Jewish State or an Arab State, but a state of confusion, nor does it regard pledges to either Jews or Arabs as requiring Britain to promote either of these alternatives. (The Balfour Declaration has referred to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, that is a land of Jewish homes. Inasmuch as there are now at least a few thousand Jewish homes in that land, the sense of the Balfour Declaration has been definitely and amply fulfilled). Palestine should be a State in which Arabs and Jews share in the government in such a way as to ensure that the essential interests of Great Britain are safeguarded.

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Immigration

Immigration during the next five years would be fixed at a rate that, if the economic absorptive capacity of the country permitted, would bring the Jewish population to approximately one-third of the population of the country. Taking into account the expected natural increase in Arab population and the fact that Jewish fecundity has been affected by Occidental ideas, it is hoped that there will be a possibility of a slight influx of Jews from those countries in which the Jews are not happy. (Unofficially it may be suggested that the Jews provide the Arabs with aphrodisiacs of various sorts — garlic, leek, mandrakes — mandrake at any rate has something in common with mandate — and if they themselves ingest a sufficient quantity of saltpeter, quite a few immigrants may be allowed to enter while the ratio of one Jewish inhabitant to three Arabs is rigorously maintained.)

The British Government is determined to check illegal immigration and further preventives are being adopted and will be strictly enforced. Should there, however, be a number of illegal entries into Palestine, the quota will be deducted from the Jewish birthrate.

In consideration of the plight of many Jewish refugees, a number of them, not exceeding 25 annually, will be admitted as soon as the High Commissioner is satisfied that the Grand Mufti is not averse to the proposal. Special consideration will be given to those refugees above the age of 60 who are accompanied by their parents. Before a decision is reached, the appropriate Jewish and Arab representatives will be consulted.

After a period of two years, no further immigration of Jews into Palestine will be permitted unless the Arab government welcomes them.

The Yellow Paper

Land Sales

Regarding the sale of land — the High Commissioner will be instructed to allow the selling of a city (we understand that the seat in a synagogue is referred to as a *shtodt* or city by the Jews) in the various houses of worship. Plots in cemeteries will also be permitted to be purchased by the Jews without restriction, in the light of findings of the Peel-Woodhead reports.

Congratulations

The British Government takes full cognizance of the two-hundred-million-dollar investment in Palestine on the part of American Jews — an investment which is a tribute to the financial status and money-raising ability of the Jews. It trusts, furthermore, that Jews throughout the world, and in particular those now residing in Palestine, will continue their humanitarian endeavors in the direction of hospitalization, sanitation, and electrification of Transjordan, as well as the conversion of the Arabian desert into arable soil, in keeping with the great exhortation of their Prophets to turn the sword into ploughshares.

The next edition of the *White Paper* will be designated a Milk and Honey Paper, and will be printed in bright golden letters on a laid cream paper to symbolize Palestine as a "land of milk and honey".

The Jews are to be congratulated on their restraint, which is in full accord with the policy of the British Government, which has been constantly averting one war after another by making reasonable concessions.

NEVILLE TO ADOLF

A letter from the Appeaser to the Fuehrer, as ghost-written (with furious asides) by the present author.

NEWS ITEM

Ribbentrop "Too Busy" to Receive Henderson

HITLER SNUBS ENGLISH ENVOY

Mein Fuehrer:

It is not without some alacrity that His Majesty's Ambassador, Sir Nevile, returns to you after his vacation in the British Isles. I have been waiting for this opportunity to tell you how much he missed the *Gemuethlichkeit* and carefreeness of Berlin. While it has been rumored abroad that he was ordered to London in connection with the slight misunderstanding over the Munich pact, you may reasonably judge for yourself how far from the true facts such a surmise can turn out to be. Nor does it seem plausible to assume that Sir Nevile could report to us the particulars of your protectorate, such as were unknown to us.

Neville to Adolf

You will doubtless have overcome by this time your slight displeasure at my mentioning the Czechoslovakian incident in the British Parliament. You see I was rather hard put to it, and now that you are a doctor of laws (he not only doctors them but kills them — g.w.) I could cite the Latin dictum, *humanum est errare* (or as Tuvie the Milkhiker would translate it, *M'is dokh nit mer vi a mentsh* — g.w.), and I readily admit that it was a bit untactful and impulsive on my part; but you have never had to deal with impertinent and persistent Laborites. Your concentration camps are *Gott sei Dank* large enough for all laborites.

His Majesty's Ambassador has been compelled to miss that greatest of all celebrations, your reaching the fiftieth birthday (but let us hope he will have better luck with your memorial, which will be a commemoration such as the world has never seen before — g.w.). The edifying spectacle of warplanes, cannon, and tanks paying you homage would most certainly have made an indelible impression on him.

Sir Neville bears our affectionate greetings and high respect, as well as a message of peace to which, in your benign grace, I am sure you will take kindly, if and when it please you to give him an audience. It is my fervent hope at least that His Excellency, Herr von Ribbentrop, will have the kindness to receive him at his convenience. It is true that His Majesty's Government has deemed it advisable to give out the statement that Sir Neville is not being sent on an important mission, but the newspapers are not to be credited in making light of his message, which may after all be of some consequence, if you have not yet fully decided on your reply to President Roosevelt.

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It is to be hoped you will not consider it presumptuous on our part to anticipate moderation in keeping with your charitable attitude, even though the President of the United States has seemingly insinuated possible aggression on your part. (How could anyone be so untrusting and sceptical? — g.w.). It would be well to bear in mind that President Roosevelt has had good intentions, and perhaps not to be too severe in alluding to his appeal. On several occasions, we have endeavored to offer slight intimations of the advisability of employing politic language, but to use a colloquialism, you might as well tell it to the judge (or as Tuvie the Milkhiker would translate it, *Red tzu der vant* — g.w.). President Roosevelt, because of the distance between Germany and the United States, can scarcely appreciate your peace policy. Had he lived as close to Berlin as we, or the French, your benevolent motives and plans in regard to the various states in Europe would become quite clear to him. As for the rest, he is a bully fellow (but, of course, you are the bully *par excellence*, *ne plus ultra*, or as Tuvie would say it, the *kelev shebik-lovim* — g.w.) and a charming host. We trust that the visit of Their Majesties to the United States will strengthen the Munich pact, which proved somewhat shaky (in Tuvie's language *nit mit allemen* — g.w.) last month, when Czechoslovakia decided to give up its independence and to cast its lot with the Reich, but, heaven be praised, survived the crisis.

Again we promise faithfully not to carry out any aggressive measures against Germany, and as for the Soviet proposals, you will deign to notice that we have made no reply, awaiting your address next Friday.

Incidentally, we shall be most grateful to you if,

Neville to Adolf

before you protect another state in Europe, for example, Portugal or Danzig, you will be good enough to give some slight indication of your beneficence a few hours before the event; usually the ceremony is so sudden, that it takes our breath away. This is merely a suggestion which, if accepted, will be a personal favor to me, as it will enable me to explain your protective activity with greater preparation and effectiveness on my part.

Yours for appeasement,

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

THE FOLKLORE OF FASCISM

NICKNAMES IN A TOTALITARIAN WORLD

We may look upon nicknames or sobriquets as an expression of crude and uncultured minds, or as a release or safety valve for pent-up resentment. From either angle, the material is part of the warp and woof of folklore.

Many of us have been interested in the various mock names which Hitler and Mussolini have acquired during their dictatorships. Every mock name is like a cartoon. It must have some point, and certainly relevance. No collection of such sobriquets has been made to my knowledge; and this is the first attempt, at least a beginning, to be followed by others. My own original ideas are naturally included; and where I do not indicate that the sobriquet has been borrowed, it will be understood that it is my own, although perhaps others have independently hit upon the same mock name. These names are, of course, forms of puns, but a pun is sometimes true wit.

Nazi

Beginning with the word Nazi, we are reminded that Winchell has changed the "N" to an "R", and thus the resemblance between the destructive Swastika bearer and the rodent of the cellar variety is established. The *Nastis* is another nickname which has been used in this connection.

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Hitler

The change from Hitler to *Hateler* is only slight and needs no originality to think of; but the appropriateness of the association is indisputable.

Schicklgruber

Hitler's other name, however, Schicklgruber, could not have been chosen more aptly; for no man in history has sent so many people to the grave as Hitler. (Grammarians will tell me that I should have used the phrase "no other man", but I know better.) In connection with the aptness of names, has there been any mention of the fact that the "Holy" Inquisitor, Torquemada, must have originally derived his name from the Latin, *torqueo* — to rack or torture?

When Schicklgruber-Hitler began to court the Arabs and pose as their protector, a Canadian columnist referred to him as Sheik-al-Grubir. If some cartoonist only drew the Putsch-corporal with a turban around his head, the picture would be complete.

The Fuehrer

The person who first thought of referring to the Fuehrer as the *Furor* must have had some wit. This is the first humorous sobriquet bestowed on Hitler. The allusion to the Fuehrer as *Verfuehrer* (misleader) is a little too obvious and trite.

The name of "Pfuirer", however, suggests itself quite readily from the type of greeting which confronted the "Fuehrer", when he triumphantly paraded the streets of Prague, after the Munich betrayal. "Pfui" was heard quite frequently then on the main thoroughfare — "pfui", accompanied by a disgusted grimace.

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Himmler

Perhaps Himmler was as well-named as anyone; for since *Himmel* means "heaven" in German, *Himmler* would signify one who sends people to heaven. Next to Hitler, Himmler must have been responsible for the greatest number of people in history going to heaven prematurely. It may be asked how we know that all his victims go to heaven. The chances are that at least 99 out of every 100, at any rate, are of the best sort, if they arouse the ire of the Nazis.

The Propaganda Monster

In referring to Goebbels as the "Propaganda Monster" (minister), some columnist has added an apt pun to our collection of mock names. Certainly Goebbels' club foot is not the chief symptom of his monstrosity.

Brutalitarian State

The totalitarian state is aptly dubbed by many columnists "brutalitarian state".

Benito Mussolini

The name of the Italian, both prototype and understudy, of Hitler, lends itself to a good deal of twisting in the cause of serious jesting. Has anyone thought of the similarity between Benito and *bandito*, which was a fitting epithet for the Duce, long before he decreed the anti-Jewish laws?

When I first saw Mussolini's name changed to Butcholini, I thought it was a bit harsh and crude, but the butchery of innocent Ethiopians richly deserved the sobriquet. *Bandito Butcholini* is not a bad combination, after all, for a man who has been instrumental in the death of a million people:

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Ethiopians, Albanians, Spaniards, and last, but not least, Italians. Most Americans, by the way, pronounce Mussolini's name as if it were Muscle-ini, perhaps indicating that they are dimly conscious of his "muscling" in on Ethiopia, Spain, and France.

Chamberlain

The best sobriquet for Chamberlain is Chamberlain, true to type. At the Munich conference, he proved to be Hitler's chamberlain, to a *t*. There must be something in the name after all. Chamberlain's namesake, and perhaps distant relative, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, was not only Britain's renegade No. 1, but the Kaiser's star bootlicker at the turn of the century and, of course, — how else could it be? — the Jews' inveterate foe. For a long time, he was the pillar of cultured German anti-Semitism.

I often thought that Chamberlain would make the typical villain in the old melodrama. You may be surprised then to know that in his name, we find the word "villain" — Neville Chamberlain. I am sure the Baal Ha-Turim¹ would have featured this cryptic allusion in his commentary.

Incidentally, Chamberlain's comparing himself with Disraeli is the height of conceit. Disraeli *made* the British Empire; and even Bismarck was afraid of him. Chamberlain made the British Empire a by-word. We wonder whether what he has brought to us is not "Dishonor without peace" instead of "peace with honor".

The individual responsible for the pun which turns Chamberlain into *j'aime Berlin* is a wit indeed; and indeed, it need not have been a Frenchman to see the relationship. This is one of the best puns in recent years.

1) Pseudonym of the celebrated thirteenth-fourteenth century Rabbi, Jacob ben Asher, whose Biblical commentary, colored by anagrammatic and numerological considerations, was included in many editions of the Pentateuch.

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Stalin

Stalin, we must remember, stalled at the time Mussolini was ravishing Ethiopia. He stalled in the Czechoslovakian crisis. "Stallin'" might, therefore, be a fit nickname, in his case corresponding to the famous "Cunctator" in Roman history. Even now, the name is not out of order, although another connotation attaches to it, since Stalin has been stalling the Nazis most effectively.

League of Nations

The famous wit, Israel Zangwill, called it the "League of Damnations". How foresighted this prince of paradox was at a time when all were singing the League's praises. Perhaps we shall not go so far as to use even mild profanity, but at any rate, we may well refer to it as the "Lag of Nations".

Lindbergh

Lindbergh has the questionable honor of being linked to Berlin (*Berlindbergh*) and the Linden (*unter den Lindenberg*).

Wheeler

The reference to Senator Wheeler as a "Fifth Wheeler" was not only a hint that he was useless in the national defense administration, and that the slogan of "America First" was a childish babble, but that the organization which he sponsored so tenaciously had a fifth column background.

Coughlin

About Father Coughlin, it may be said that he is the coglin or little cog in this fifth wheel.

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Vichy Government

This regime impressed us in the first weeks of its existence as something *fishy*. Its *wishy-washy* character soon became too evident; but within the last year, it took on a *vicious* aspect.

Blitzkrieg

The *blitzkrieg*, after passing into the stage of a *Sitzkrieg* (sit-down war), with Gamelin's "war of positions", became a *Witzkrieg* (farce-war), but has recently turned into a *Flitskrieg* in Russia, and a *Kritzkrieg* (gnashing and gritting war) for the Germans.

DEFINITIONS IN A MODERN LIGHT

The Fascist-Nazi ideology has changed many of our conceptions. We can no longer consult the dictionary for the meanings of words; for Hitler, Mussolini and Co., not only change maps at will, but also the connotation of terms. Let us take the word "art" or "aesthetics", for instance.

Art

According to Mussolini's aviator son, Vittorio, the most sublime beauty is reached when flyers, soaring above the clouds, drop bombs into a milling crowd at a market place and watch the tiny bodies below being blown up in the flames that break out so magnificently. What sunset could compare with this artistic achievement of man! This is the Mussolini-Hitler-Japanese School of Art.

Treaty

An agreement between nations to settle amicably some

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dispute, by which the aggressor is expected to make certain reparations for wrongs. That is what we all thought a treaty to be. We must revise this definition to read as follows: "An agreement among nations which binds the democratic victors but not the penalized totalitarian signatory, who might break it at will and then announce the fact." The best illustration is the Treaty of Versailles, which should have been called the Treaty of *Reversailles* (I marvel that no one has thought of this pun before).

Pact

A pact is merely a pious wish, and just as enduring as a lady's compact. The most famous example is the Locarno Pact. The Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact was a little less than an international pow-wow. The Spanish Non-Intervention Pact was a joke raised to the fifth power.

Accord

This must have been abridged from "accordion"; for it swells and shrivels without, however, bringing harmony. It is the knowing wink of a bunch of politicians who are trying to get the best of each other and who seethe with distrust and discord. In other words, accord is a euphemism for discord.

Conversation

As in the Anglo-Italian conversation, a get-together between representatives of two disputing nations, which ends in expectation on the one side and action contrary to the expectation on the other side. The action is always on the part of the totalitarian government.

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Proverb

The saying "No honor among thieves" should be revised so as to apply to a more dignified class of human beings than thieves.

Greatest Joke of the Century

There is little doubt but that the Mussolini edict forbidding Italians to laugh at Jewish comedians will go down in history as the greatest joke of the century.

COLLEGE "DUMBOR"

There is an Arabian proverb to the effect that the camel makes 40 pilgrimages to Mecca and remains a camel. In English we might say that the ass attends school many years and remains an ass. Or if you wish, I could offer another adaptation. You can lead a horse to college, but you can't make him drink wisdom. An illustration of this is furnished by the recent Princeton vote as to the greatest men of today. One is somewhat shocked to read that 93 Princeton freshmen voted Hitler the greatest. If this is not a deliberate instance of college humor, we may consider it a phase of college "*dumbor*."

A senseless attitude is, to be sure, not to be cured by education; there are college presidents whose prejudices bespeak a stupidity of the soul; and a college freshman, it will be admitted, is not overlaid with education; but we might have expected a little more even from grammar-school boys.

Princeton, it is true, is in the heart of New Jersey, seat of Bund activities; and a good many students there are of German origin, but why Hitler strikes them as the greatest of living men is certainly not self-evident. The Princeton that I knew in 1917 when many of my fellow-students enlisted prior to the entry of the United States, in a war the issues of which were not nearly as clear-cut as they are today, presented another aspect to me.

College "Dumbor"

On the other hand, are there not among the very German Jewish refugees, individuals who admire Hitler's courage and statesmanship, his vegetarianism and consistency? Yes, his consistency is about the only quality which gains one's approbation — his consistency in treating all Jews alike and thus forestalling the snobbish attitude of the upper crust toward the humble and poorer Ostjude whose plight otherwise would have been justified by the supercilious would-be German.

A GREAT DAY FOR THE JEWS AND THE WORLD

The recent aviation feats of Hughes and Corrigan must have suggested to more than one reader the question why the Jews, who have distinguished themselves in practically every other field of human endeavor, should not have taken to the air with just as great gusto. Certainly there is no great glory in the fact that the first transatlantic passenger in an aeroplane was Levine. No doubt there are many who would have been highly gratified if a Jewish aviator in Brownsville should have set out for Chelsea, Mass., and going in the wrong direction should have landed in Tel-Aviv. How some Jews envied the Irish and wished they could say "It's a great day for the Jews!" or, in the good old Jewish form, "Shehekhionu!"¹

It is well enough to dispose of the question by some pleasantry like "All Jews are *Luft Mentsbn*",² so that there is no special point in singling out one particular Jew from the rest, because he has flown higher or farther.

Wandering far or near, high or low, is no achievement for the wandering Jew, any more than climbing a tree would be for a human fly, but speed, endurance, initiative (even *à la* Corrigan) would be an added flavor to the wan-

1) "That we have lived [to see or to enjoy . . .]"

2) i. e., people who live on ethereal ventures, or who are "up in the air".

A Great Day for the Jews and the World

dering; otherwise, it might be said that Jews are good wanderers out of necessity, but they will not exert themselves unless they are forced to emigrate. Anyone with a smattering of history knows that belief to be erroneous; for Jews have wandered far and wide before the diaspora and had settled in Europe long before the ancestors of the present aristocracies had taken up their abode there.

Nor will it do to declare that Jews are not fond of adventure. It is true that they have had too much of it. The Burgenland Jews, those on the SS. *St. Louis*, the refugees on the "Hellship" *Navemar*, and finally the ill-fated passengers on the *Struma* could a tale unfold which would rival many an episode related in legend.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Jews have produced great adventurers who have struck out on their own and have explored territory hitherto unknown, even if the evidence of Columbus's Jewish stock should prove inadmissible. We do not have to go far for our instances. Peter Freuchen, the Danish Jew, whose life in Greenland has become an epic, is without question the most celebrated adventurer of our time; and it is noteworthy that by his exploits and exemplary deeds, he has elevated the sense of the word "adventurer", which generally is associated with irresponsibility and truculence.

Peter Freuchen, who might, to a Christian, suggest Santa Claus driving his reindeer, may be characterized in the same way as Horatio Nelson, "Brave as a lion, gentle as a lamb," and, in spite of his gigantic stature, looks for aught we know as if he had just arrived, red beard and all, from the fiery *Sambattyon* where, according to legend, dwell the red Jews (not communists, mind you).

If the present generation can point to a Peter Freuchen, there is reason to believe that Jewish aviators of his calibre will sooner or later show up; for the "nerve" which is re-

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quired for the one type of adventure is essential also for the other. It may be a matter of time, or we may just awake one day and hear of a remarkable aviation record that will gladden not only Aryan but all air-conscious hearts.

Meanwhile, however, we might hazard a guess that it will be a great day for the Jews when someone else will be flying from Berlin, whether in an aeroplane or otherwise, even more so than if a Jew had made a non-stop flight from New York to Tel-Aviv.

In the interim, the Ehrlichs and the Neissers, the Wassermanns and the Hertzes, the Einsteins and the Freuds will have to take the place of the Hugheses and the Corriganes on the honor roll of humanity.

* * *

P. S. 1942

Since the outbreak of World War II, and more emphatically since America has begun to stage black-outs, spanning the Atlantic by plane has become almost a *bagatelle*. What may surprise, however, those who were somewhat skeptical about Jewish valor on the battlefield is the large number of Jewish men fighting in the air units, in the British forces, including the dominions, in the USSR, and in the United States. This hazardous arm of service seems to be favored by Jewish enlisted men. Let us hope that at the conclusion of this protracted and decisive war there will be no *numerus clausus* or restricted quota for Jewish pilots.

"WHAT! I AM A JEW?
YOU'RE AN ANTI-SEMIT!"

The avalanche of articles about the Jews in dailies, weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies, in connection with the Nazi-Fascist persecution, has apparently irked many Jews who see in every discussion of the Jewish problem an anti-Semitic motive.

While much of the polygraphy seems trite and boring, scores of writers discovering hoary truisms, we see no reason to inject the anti-Semitic issue in sympathetic estimates.

A number of weeks ago, a new periodical was launched devoting its first issue to the Jewish world crisis and illustrating very forcefully in pictorial fashion what would happen if Hitler's power reached into the American government. The magazine was condemned by Jewish writers of a certain slant as anti-Semitic. Perhaps the magazine in question did wish to promote the publication among the Jews, but that is a far cry from anti-Semitism. Indeed, the articles were a strong indictment of the atrocities that were being committed against them by a gangster clique.

This reminds one of a story which few Jews would bring themselves to broadcast. But that alone is a symptom of the inferiority complex.

An elderly Jew, who was as low as he was ignorant, thought he could get the better of a vending machine by

throwing a nickel into the slot instead of a dime. He pulled and pushed, slapped the machine, but nothing came out. A more progressive Jew who stood close by explained that it was necessary to throw a dime into the slot. The other put another nickel into the slot, and still nothing came of it, to the discomfiture of the purchaser.

"Don't you see," his informant told him, "This is only an automat. It doesn't know any tricks. It is to be served with dimes only."

"Automat-shmat," fumed the petty sharper. "It's an anti-Semite, and that's all."

And now that I have told the story, I suppose the charge of anti-Semitism will be laid at my door too. But for humor's sake, can't we tell an amusing story about a single Jew who thought he could fool an automatic machine, without incriminating sixteen million Jews? When one reads that in a certain police station, the telephone apparatus was filled with slugs, I am sure that one does not suppose that the entire police force in the United States should protest against the press for printing the item.



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